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Carolingian Commentaries on the Apocalypse by Theodulf and Smaragdus

Francis X. Gumerlock
Archdiocese of Denver, Fxg1@comcast.net

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CAROLINGIAN COMMENTARIES ON THE APOCALYPSE BY THEODULF AND SMARAGDUS

Translated texts and introduction by
Francis X. Gumerlock

Carolingian Commentaries
on the Apocalypse
by Theodulf and Smaragdus

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WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Carolingian Commentaries
on the Apocalypse
by Theodulf and Smaragdus

Translated Texts and Introduction

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Francis X. Gumerlock

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Dedicated to
Kaleena Grace Jones

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Abbreviations

- ACW *Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation*. Edited by J. Quasten, J. C. Plumpe, W. J. Burghart, J. Dillon, and D. D. McManus. New York: Newman, 1946–present.
- ANF *Ante-Nicene Fathers of the Church*. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature, 1885–96.
- CCCM Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–present.
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–present.
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler, Tempsky, 1866–present.
- FC *Fathers of the Church*. New York: Cima Publishing Co., 1947–49; New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1949–60; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1960–present.
- NPNF *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Edited by Philip Schaff. 2 series of 14 vols. New York: Christian Literature, 1887–94. Numerous reprints by various publishing companies including T & T Clark, Eerdmans, and Hendrickson.
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 221 vols. Paris: Petit-Montrouge, 1844–64.

Introduction

BY MODERN CONVENTIONS THEODULF and Smaragdus are unusual names, but both were well known to Charlemagne, who was crowned king of the Holy Roman Empire on Christmas Day of the year 800. In the early ninth century, Theodulf and Smaragdus served as two of Charlemagne's chief theological advisors. Both wrote Latin works on the Apocalypse, of which this book provides English translations. In monastic communities of what is present-day France Theodulf of Orleans wrote an *Exposition on the Apocalypse of John* and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel authored three *Homilies on the Apocalypse*. This introduction will discuss the authors, contents, and the sources used for these fascinating texts related to the Apocalypse. Appendices additionally provide translations of an eighth-century *Preface to the Apocalypse* used by Theodulf for a Bible he produced and an anonymous ninth-century list of *Chapter Headings of the Book of the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*.

Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition on the Apocalypse of John* (810)

The *Exposition on the Apocalypse of John* (*Expositio in Apocalysin Iohannis*) was written under the supervision of Theodulf of Orleans in the scriptorium of the monastery at Micy near Orleans, France in 810. The *Exposition* is found in MS: Paris BNF, lat. 14679, which contains an exegetical miscellany of commentaries on the books of the Old and New Testaments. The *Exposition* was edited by Msgr. Roger Gryson and in 2003 was published in Vol. 107 of *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*. The present translation was prepared from Gryson's edition.

Theodulf's Life and Writings

Theodulf, of Visigothic descent, was born in Spain between 750 and 760. He was well educated in rhetoric, logic, and Scripture, probably in or near Saragossa (sometimes spelled Zaragoza). He left Spain between 778 and 782, and by 787 Theodulf was actively working among the distinguished scholars that were attendant to Charlemagne, then king of the Franks.¹ According to June-Ann Greeley, Theodulf was “one of the most learned men in Charlemagne’s retinue.”² In the early 790s he composed the *Libri Carolini* (*The Books of Charlemagne*), a response of Charlemagne and his court to the Second Council of Nicaea of 787 concerning images.³ Sometime in the 790s Charlemagne appointed Theodulf bishop of Orleans; and by 798 Theodulf was also serving as abbot of the monastery of St. Benoît-sur-Loire in Fleury, which held the relics of Benedict of Nursia and had become a popular destination for pilgrims. At some point Theodulf was granted abbacy of the monasteries of St. Aignan in Orleans, St. Mesmin (also called Micy) near Orleans, and St. Liphard in Meung-sur-Loire.⁴ Throughout his career Theodulf wrote poems, and he is praised by modern scholars as “among the finest poets of the Carolingian era.”⁵ Near the end of his life he wrote one of his most famous poems, *Laus, Gloria et Honor*, which became the Palm Sunday processional hymn “All Glory, Laud, and Honor” still sung in churches today.⁶

In 798 Theodulf served as one of two diplomats that Charlemagne sent into southern Gaul.⁷ In the year 800 Charlemagne visited Theodulf in Orleans on his way to Rome. Theodulf followed Charlemagne to Rome that same year. There he received the *pallium* from Pope Leo III and witnessed the coronation of Charlemagne. As bishop of Orleans Theodulf instituted reforms and directed his priests to provide instruction without payment for all children brought to them for education.⁸

In the first decade of the ninth century, Theodulf created scholarly editions of the Bible with variant readings referring back to the Hebrew. Concerning those editions, scholars have remarked how similar his approach was to “the modern method of constructing a critical text.”⁹ In addition, he supervised the production of many Bibles, six of which have survived.¹⁰

A beautiful villa and oratory were constructed at Germigny-des-Prés under the supervision of Theodulf, the oratory being dedicated in 806. Its dome, decorated with a mosaic of the Ark of the Covenant, illustrates the text of 1 Kings 6:19–35.¹¹ In 809, Theodulf wrote a treatise, *On the Holy Spirit*, that affirmed the double procession of the Spirit, the posi-

tion of theologians in Charlemagne's court that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son* (*filioque*), against the Byzantine assertion that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or from the Father *through* the Son.¹² In 810, he created the Micy Bible which contains the *Exposition on the Apocalypse* and many other commentaries on Scripture. The following year Theodulf was one of eleven clergy who witnessed Charlemagne's will;¹³ and in the ensuing years the bishop wrote on the sacrament of Baptism.¹⁴

After Charlemagne's death in 814, Theodulf swore fidelity to Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, and for a few years they remained on good terms. Louis sent Theodulf in 816 as part of an envoy to Reims to greet the new Pope Stephen IV, but in 817 Louis accused Theodulf of treason, and in the following year deposed him. Theodulf lost his bishopric and abbasies, was stripped of his claims to ecclesiastical property, and was exiled to Angers. While living in exile, perhaps in the abbey at St. Aubin or St. Serge, Theodulf continued to proclaim his innocence and sought help for reinstatement from his friend Modoin, bishop of Autun, to no avail. Theodulf died unexpectedly in 821. There were rumors that he was murdered by poisoning.¹⁵

Concerning Theodulf's contributions, John Contreni described him as "one of the most prolific and original scholars of the early Carolingian period."¹⁶ In the assessment of James Ginther, Theodulf was "certainly equal to Alcuin in literary ability."¹⁷ Michael Gorman praised Theodulf as the "greatest poet of his age and Charlemagne's most famous polemicist," while June-Ann Greeley referred to him as "humanistic scholar, rigorous theologian, judicial advocate, enthusiastic administrator, gifted poet, and robust prelate."¹⁸ Concerning Theodulf's influence, Johannes Heil made a convincing case that Haimo of Auxerre, a major Carolingian biblical commentator of the ninth century, very likely studied under Theodulf at Micy.¹⁹

Theodulf's Exegetical Miscellany and Apocalypse Commentary

About the same time that Theodulf was studying the texts of the biblical books and creating his own editions of the Bible, he prepared abbreviated versions of many commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. According to Gorman, when Theodulf's collection of commentaries was complete, "he gathered them together in order to create a set of *expositions* on practically all the books of the Bible ... The result of this gigantic project is preserved today bound in a single manuscript, Paris lat 15679."²⁰

This series of patristic and medieval commentaries, or “exegetical miscellany” as Gorman calls it, was prepared under Theodulf’s supervision ca. 810, most likely in the scriptorium of the monastery at St. Mesmin (Micy) located about five kilometers to the west of Orleans. It is written in a diminutive script and some of the headings in the manuscript are thought to be in Theodulf’s own handwriting.²¹ According to Gorman, it was to serve as a tool for the monks in the study of the Bible. It is in this manuscript that Theodulf’s *Exposition on the Apocalypse* is contained. The exegetical miscellany seems to have been used very little; the works in it are not annotated with any marks or marginalia by later readers. Its lack of later use is understandable in light of Theodulf’s aforementioned fall from political grace and ecclesiastical office in the last years of his life. That said, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel possessed a copy of Theodulf’s *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, which he used in 812 as he compiled his *Collections*, an assortment of homiletical material for feast days throughout the year. Theodulf’s relationship with and influence on Smaragdus will be discussed below.

Theodulf’s Sources

For his *Exposition on the Apocalypse* Theodulf abbreviated the Hiberno-Latin *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John* from the late seventh century, which circulated in the name of Jerome (hereafter referred to as the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*).²² Perhaps judging that the explanations provided in that *Handbook* were overly short and might leave the reader unsatisfied, Theodulf decided to use two additional sources to supplement it.²³ The first of these is the Apocalypse commentary of Victorinus of Pettau (ca. 260), in Jerome’s recension (ca. 398), which in the footnotes of the translation is referred to as “Victorinus-Jerome.”²⁴ The second source was a Hiberno-Latin commentary from the first half of the eighth century, now lost. Fragments of this lost commentary also appear in the eighth-century *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John* (*De enigmatibus de Apocalypsin Iohannis*) of the *Reference Bible* and in the *Cambridge Gloss on the Apocalypse*.²⁵ The lost commentary is presently being reconstructed by me.

In the translation, direct quotations from the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* and Victorinus-Jerome are placed in quotation marks and footnoted. In addition, quotation marks are placed around direct citations of Tyconius’s *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, many of which came into Theodulf’s *Exposition* via pseudo-Jerome and the lost commentary. Since the lost

commentary source that Theodulf used is not yet fully reconstructed and edited, passages of dependence upon it are not indicated in footnotes.²⁶ Comments in the *Exposition* that are similar to those in the Apocalypse commentaries of Caesarius of Arles, Primasius of Hadrumentum, and Bede are also listed in footnotes; however, they appear infrequently and most can be accounted for by the fact that Caesarius, Primasius, and Bede, along with Theodulf, his pseudo-Jerome source, and his lost commentary source, were all using the exegetical approach to the Apocalypse derived from Tyconius.²⁷ Citations from Jerome's *On Hebrew Names* and from Isidore's *Etymologies* derive from the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*, and a statement from Jerome's *Epistle 18b* on Rev 2:7 comes from the lost commentary. A few allusions to Eucherius of Lyon's *Formulas and Instructions* also appear indirectly through the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* or the lost commentary.

A comment on Rev 7:13, regarding four ways in which God speaks to humans, is found in Augustine, Isidore, and two Hiberno-Latin commentaries on James. There are four allusions to, and one quotation from, writings of Gregory the Great, namely, his *Moral Teaching on Job* and *Homilies on Ezekiel*. These are in Theodulf's comments on Rev 3:21; 5:5; 6:11; 21:16; and 22:17. Two of the comments derive from the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* or the lost commentary (on Rev 6:11; 21:6). Two others (on Rev 3:21; 22:17) may have come from Paterius's *Book on the Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, a compilation from the writings of Gregory.²⁸

Understanding Theodulf's use of Tyconius is complicated. Over fifteen quotations or allusions to Tyconius's Apocalypse commentary in Theodulf's *Exposition* can be traced to the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* or the lost commentary source.²⁹ Yet eleven others do not appear to have come from Theodulf's main sources.³⁰ They are not in the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*, and they do not seem to have derived from the lost commentary because there are no parallel comments in the *Reference Bible* or *Cambridge Gloss*. (If they were there, the implication would be that such Tyconian material had derived from the lost commentary.³¹) This suggests that either some citations from Tyconius came into Theodulf's *Exposition* through an unidentified source,³² or that Theodulf had direct access to a text of Tyconius's *Exposition of the Apocalypse*.³³

Theodulf's choice of sources for his *Exposition* engenders several questions. Why did he not use Bede's Apocalypse commentary, a favorite in Carolingian times? Theodulf was not opposed to using Bede; the exegetical miscellany contains abridged versions of Bede's *Thirty Questions on Kings*

as well as Bede's commentaries on Samuel, Ezra, Luke and the Epistle of James. The answer seems to be that he chose the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* as his base text because of its brevity.³⁴ Put simply, Theodulf did not have to abridge a large Apocalypse commentary like that of Bede (nor of Primasius or Ambrose Autpert, for that matter), when he already had a concise text in the *Handbook*. Moreover, Theodulf favored Jerome: while Theodulf selected for his exegetical miscellany one commentary by Ambrose, one by Chrysostom, and a few commentaries by Isidore and Gregory the Great respectively, the majority of commentaries he included were abridgments of Jerome, including the latter's works on Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, and Matthew. Theodulf also chose commentaries that circulated in Jerome's name, such as one on Mark and one on the Pauline epistles, which are now recognized as having been falsely attributed to Jerome.³⁵ Therefore, it is congruent with Theodulf's preference for Jerome that two of the three main sources for his *Exposition on the Apocalypse* were the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* and Jerome's edition of Victorinus.

There are two Apocalypse commentaries associated with Alcuin, but it is uncertain if they are genuinely his. They are *Five Books of Commentary on the Apocalypse* and an *Explanation of the Apocalypse through Question and Answer*.³⁶ If they are Alcuin's, why did Theodulf not choose from these commentaries, since Alcuin was his colleague among the scholars with whom Charlemagne surrounded himself? The *Five Books* is very lengthy and would have needed significant abridgement. As mentioned above, Theodulf preferred shorter works like the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*. The question and answer *Explanation of the Apocalypse* attributed to Alcuin would not have fit Theodulf's purpose, in that it did not treat the entire text of the Apocalypse, but only selected passages.³⁷ Also, although Alcuin and Theodulf enjoyed a reasonably harmonious relationship when they served Charlemagne together in the 780s and 790s,³⁸ in 801/802 the two had a falling out. A cleric who had been tried, convicted, and imprisoned for a serious crime by Theodulf in Orleans had escaped to St. Martin's in Tours where Alcuin was serving as abbot. An appeal was made to Charlemagne and the king sided with Theodulf. Consequently Alcuin had to hand over the fugitive.³⁹ For these reasons it is likely that Theodulf did not consider using Alcuin's biblical commentaries as sources.

Interestingly, two of the three sources for Theodulf's *Exposition* are Hiberno-Latin, meaning that they were written in Latin by Irish clerics who may have been residing either in Ireland or on the Continent when they were written. This is surprising in light of Theodulf's disdain for a certain

Irish scholar who served in Charlemagne's court. According to D. Schaller, Theodulf in one of his poems described the Irish courtier, Cadac-Andreas, as "a deplorable, quarrelsome, half-educated creature, lacking in depth and wisdom."⁴⁰ Theodulf called him an "Irish twerp" (*Scotellus*), made fun of his pronunciation of Latin, and in poetic satire essentially called him an idiot.⁴¹ Johannes Heil also spoke of "growing tension" between Theodulf and the scholars from the northern islands after the death of Alcuin in 804.⁴² When it came to exposition of the Apocalypse, however, Theodulf seems to have put aside any prejudice or hostility toward the Irish that he may have harbored, finding two Hiberno-Latin commentaries most suitable for incorporation into his *Exposition*. Interestingly, the popularity of these Irish biblical commentaries, which Theodulf found so useful at the beginning of the ninth century, began to wane steadily throughout the ninth century.⁴³

Theodulf's Exegesis and Eschatology

Augustine and Jerome expressed centuries earlier that the Apocalypse was filled with obscurities.⁴⁴ Similarly for Theodulf, "the holy vision shown to Saint John" was to a large extent "veiled."⁴⁵ But, as mentioned earlier, Theodulf found the explanations in the Hiberno-Latin glosses most fitting in his creation of a reference work that could be used by his monks for study of the Bible. Because his *Exposition on the Apocalypse* is so heavily indebted to the Hiberno-Latin source texts, Theodulf's exegetical approach to the Book of Revelation is very similar to that of the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* and other Hiberno-Latin glosses on the Apocalypse. That is, it contains short allegorical comments on words and phrases of the biblical text, often related to Christology, ecclesiology, and Christian morality. For example, the seven seals which are opened (Rev 5:1) are taken to represent seven events in the life of Jesus; and many of the angels that appear in the Apocalypse (Rev 8:5; 9:5; 10:1; 12:7; 14:6; 18:1; and 20:1) are interpreted by Theodulf as symbols of Christ. For Theodulf, the church is represented in images such as jasper stone (Rev 4:3), a crown (Rev 12:1), angels' feet (Rev 10:2), and a street (On Rev 22:2).

Theodulf also found the visions of the Apocalypse conducive to moral teaching. In his interpretation, the sea mentioned in Rev 10:2 and 12:12 represents temptation and the bitterness of sin; the silver, gold, and precious stones in Rev 18:12 are figures of the virtues of purity, clean speech, and hard work. Even the colors of the stones in Rev 20:19 teach virtues such as charity and humility.⁴⁶

Allegory, of course, is not without its problems. In Theodulf's *Exposition* heaven represents the church (on Rev 6:14; 8:13; and 14:6), but the earth does as well (on Rev 8:6; 16:14). This to modern readers may appear inconsistent or contradictory. For Theodulf, however, as for many early medieval expositors, allegorical explanations of the visions of the Apocalypse were much preferable to literal readings. As Ambrose Autpert and others have expressed, should the visions of the Apocalypse be taken literally, women would be giving birth in heaven (Rev 12:1–5), smiths would be forging armor in heaven (14:14–19), and Christ's eternal reign would be limited to a thousand years (Rev 20:1–6).⁴⁷ According to Mayke de Jong, Carolingian audiences actually “demanded” allegorical commentary on Scripture.⁴⁸

Theodulf's eschatology similarly follows the views found in the Hiberno-Latin exegetical tradition on the Apocalypse: that in the last times, Enoch and Elijah return to preach, and the Antichrist persecutes the saints; that Antichrist is from the tribe of Dan, unites ten kings under him, and claims to be Christ.⁴⁹ Interestingly, Theodulf makes no correlations between Mohammed or the Islamic invaders of his native Spain and the beasts of Rev 13, as some Christians in Eastern lands were doing as early as the seventh and eighth centuries.⁵⁰ During Theodulf's time adherents of the three monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam for the most part lived securely alongside each other in the Iberian peninsula.⁵¹ According to James Palmer, in the West outside of Spain, where Theodulf was serving his king, the victories against the Saracens in the eighth century under Charles Martel “had encouraged a certain confidence.” The Arab conquests, Palmer continues, were not terribly unsettling for those in Charlemagne's time, and they generated little apocalyptic speculation.⁵² It was not until the middle of the ninth century that Western writers began to associate Mohammed with the beasts of the Apocalypse.⁵³

According to Theodulf's *Exposition*, at the end of the world Christ will return for the Last Judgment, when all are raised and assigned eternal dwelling places either in heaven or hell. God destroys the present world, and the heavens and earth are recreated. Theodulf reiterates pseudo-Jerome's interpretation of the millennium in Rev 20:4–5 as an indeterminate time from the first coming of Christ to Judgment Day; yet he does not incorporate pseudo-Jerome's view that those who interpret the thousand years literally are heretics.⁵⁴

Typical of many early medieval Apocalypse commentaries influenced by Tyconius, Theodulf's *Exposition* does not explain in an eschato-

logical manner many of the passages in the Apocalypse that could easily be interpreted as end-time calamities. The release of the four horsemen in Rev 6:2–8 is not about eschatology; rather, it concerns the present life of the church, including preaching, practicing good works, suffering persecution, and responding to heretics. The great tribulation of Rev 7:14 is simply the distress of Adam’s sin on humankind and sinful desires and vices that result from it. The seven plagues of Rev 15:1 are the spreading of the good news, and likewise the pouring out of the seven bowls is gospel preaching. In Rev 19:9 the invitation to the marriage supper of the Lamb is an invitation to receive the body and blood of Christ and to comprehend the Scriptures. In Theodulf’s comments on Rev 19:15–21, the rider upon the white horse smites the nations spiritually with the word of God, slaying their sins. Although in one poem Theodulf asserted that there were many signs indicating that the end was near, such as changes in climate and increasing social evils, Theodulf never used passages from the Book of Revelation in his *Exposition* to cause readers to fear that the consummation of all things was imminent.⁵⁵

Unique Features and Significance

Some features in the *Exposition* are unique. On Rev 2:9, Theodulf speaks of the Jews being gathered together by Antichrist in the last days. This belief is not found in the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* nor did the comment derive from the lost commentary. It does appear, however, in early Christianity in Hippolytus, pseudo-Hippolytus, and Augustine, to name a few.⁵⁶ Theodulf’s *Exposition* also gives more attention to Mary, the mother of Christ, than did his Hiberno-Latin sources. On Rev 5:9 he promotes the perpetual virginity of Mary, commenting that she was “a virgin both before giving birth and a virgin after birth;” and on Rev 6:2 Theodulf gives as one interpretation of the white horse “the body of holy Mary, white because a virgin and Christ sat in her womb.” Neither of these comments is derived from the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* or the lost commentary.

Other unique features appear. On Rev 8:8, when a third of the sea turns bloody, Theodulf writes about how “unbelievers cut the throats of others and themselves;” referring to a common method of committing murder and suicide. On several verses, Theodulf relates the contents of the Apocalypse to events when the Apocalypse was written. For example, on Rev 9:10 he interprets the five months of torture by locusts as “the years in which there was a persecution in the time of John.” On Rev 14:4

he interprets the 144,000 as the first-fruits of the Jewish people converting to Christianity. Interpretations like these, which refer the visions of the Apocalypse to events in the late first century, are somewhat rare in the early medieval Latin exegetical tradition.⁵⁷ On Rev 11:3 the length of Antichrist's reign is stated as 1,240 days rather than the usual 1,260; however, on Rev 12:6 of the *Exposition* the number is 1,260 days. On Rev 11:9 Theodulf interprets the three and a half days in which people rejoiced over the death of the two witnesses as 350 days.

Like the Apocalypse commentary contained in the *Reference Bible*, Theodulf's early ninth-century *Exposition on the Apocalypse of John* was part of a larger collection of commentaries designed for reference. It illustrates the value that the bishop-scholar placed upon Hiberno-Latin exegesis on the Apocalypse, in that he chose from that tradition two commentaries (out of three) as his main sources. The *Exposition* also provides much material for reconstruction of a lost Hiberno-Latin Apocalypse commentary from the early eighth century.

Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Homilies on the Apocalypse* (812)

Commentaries that explain the Apocalypse section-by-section and verse-by-verse are not the only means of ascertaining how early ninth-century Carolingian scholars understood the Book of Revelation. As the fifth-century writer Prosper of Aquitaine taught, should one wish to know what the church believes, one can find it in her liturgy.⁵⁸ Thus, investigation of the liturgical use of the Apocalypse in the time of Charlemagne can broaden our understanding of medieval exegesis of this biblical text.⁵⁹ From the early ninth century, three *Homilies on the Apocalypse* are found in a collection of homiletic material that Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel gathered from various ecclesiastical writers. Written in Latin ca. 812, the work is entitled *Collections of Comments on the Epistle and Gospel for each holy day in the year* (*Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia de tempore et de sanctis*). The three homilies, on Rev 1:1–4, 4:1–10, and 14:1–5, display in a small way how the Apocalypse was utilized and explained in early ninth-century liturgies for various holy days throughout the year. The English translations of these homilies are based on the edition of the *Collections* in PL 102.⁶⁰

Smaragdus's Life and Writings

Born of Visigothic heritage in Spain ca. 770, Smaragdus was active as a monk in northeastern France in the first decade of the ninth century.⁶¹ He first served as principal of the school at the monastery on Mount Castellion, about twenty-three miles south of Verdun. Sometime between 800 and 810, he wrote a *Book on Parts of Donatus* (*Liber in partibus Donati*), a commentary on the grammar of Donatus.⁶² Certain passages in Smaragdus's book on grammar show that he enjoyed a personal relationship with Charlemagne and his court; it has been suggested that Theodulf had introduced this younger cleric to Charlemagne.⁶³ At some point, likely in these early years as a monk, Smaragdus composed an *Exposition of the Psalms*.⁶⁴

By 809 Charlemagne had grown very concerned with the Eastern belief that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and summoned a synod at Aachen, where the king resided at the time, in order to articulate the Frankish position. For the council Charlemagne charged theologians in his kingdom to gather passages from the holy Fathers to support the *filioque* position that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and the Son*. As mentioned earlier, Theodulf responded to the call with his *On the Holy Spirit*. For his part, Smaragdus produced *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*,⁶⁵ and after the council Smaragdus edited a letter for Charlemagne to Pope Leo III concerning the deliberations and findings of the council.⁶⁶ Then, in 810, Smaragdus served as Charlemagne's emissary, traveling to Rome to bring the matter of the *filioque* to the pope. Shortly thereafter Smaragdus was awarded the abbacy of his monastery, and in 812 he wrote the *Collections*.⁶⁷

The year before Charlemagne's death in 814, Smaragdus wrote *The Royal Way* dedicated to Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son who at the time was king of Aquitania and soon to be heir of the empire. It consisted of moral and spiritual advice for the king.⁶⁸ After attending councils at Aachen convened by Louis in 816 and 817 for the purpose of regularizing monastic practice in the empire, Smaragdus wrote a *Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict*, the oldest known commentary on that rule.⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter he wrote *The Crown of Monks*, a collection of rules and reflections on the duties and virtues of monastic life.⁷⁰ In 824 Smaragdus moved his abbey from the hilltop of Castellio about a mile away to Saint-Mihiel near the River Meuse.⁷¹ His date of death is uncertain, but it is known to be between the years 826 and 840.⁷²

The Collections and Homilies on the Apocalypse

Smaragdus wrote the *Collections* in 812 after having been elevated to the position of abbot. Matthew Ponesse describes the *Collections* as “a compendium of biblical exegesis organized around the readings used in the liturgy.”⁷³ Smaragdus states his purpose, method, and sources in the preface to the work; it reads:

Seeing that many in the church wisely seek to investigate the mystical sense of the divine scriptures and pluck from them the figurative fruit, I have made an effort to gather one book from many, filled with the flowers of allegory, acting both as an abbreviator and deriver of the tractates and teachings of the great Fathers, namely of Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Cyril, Gregory, Victor, Fulgentius, John Chrysostom, Cassiodorus, Eucharis, Tychonius, Isidore, Figulus, Bede, Primasius, and also of those who must be approached cautiously, such as Pelagius and Origen, as if reducing powerful rivers and whirling eddies of the sea into moderate currents.⁷⁴

Smaragdus relates in the preface that the comments on the Scripture passages would not be his own; rather, in creating the *Collections* he was acting as a gatherer and abbreviator of the works and teachings of the nineteen Fathers. The abbot expressed in the preface that this collection was filling a need in the church; for many were seeking to investigate the mystical or allegorical understanding of the Scriptures. Perhaps he was asked by his *comites*, or fellow clerics, to write such a book.⁷⁵ The homilies in the *Collections* do not appear to be transcriptions of preached sermons. There are neither addresses to the audience, such as “beloved” or “fellow monks,” nor closing doxologies, which were fairly standard in preached homilies. It seems, therefore, that Smaragdus created them to assist his associates in their own preparation of homilies. The *Collections* in fact was used by monks and clergy well into the late tenth century.⁷⁶

Smaragdus’s Exegesis and Eschatology

In the *Collections* the “mystical sense” of words and phrases in the readings from the Apocalypse are gathered into homilies on the Feast of Michael the Archangel (on Rev 1:1–5), the Eighth Sunday after Pentecost (on Rev 4:1–10), and the Feast of the Holy Innocents (on Rev 14:1–5). As in other early medieval expositions of the Apocalypse, the explanations

are concerned more with Christology and ecclesiology than with eschatology. The angel, through whom the Apocalypse was revealed, and the “open door in heaven” signify Christ (on Rev 1:1; 4:1). The seven spirits of God refer to the sevenfold gift of the Holy Spirit present in Christ and his body (on Rev 1:4; 4:5). The kings of the earth are the apostles and saints (on Rev 1:5). Heaven, the throne, and the 144,000 virgins are all metonymies for the church (on Rev 4:1; 14:1, 3, 4), while jasper and the glassy sea represent her sacrament of baptism (on Rev 4:3, 6). The four living creatures are symbols of the Gospels (on Rev 4:6) and the sound of many waters is the sound of preachers (on Rev 14:3). As shown by Smaragdus’s gathering of comments, the Apocalypse concerns the present life of the church. Like Theodulf’s *Exposition*, these homilies of Smaragdus do not reveal any expectation that the coming of Antichrist or the end of the world is imminent. Moreover, Smaragdus reportedly wrote a *Commentary on the Prophets* that has been lost. That text would most likely have shed more light upon Smaragdus’s eschatological views.⁷⁷

Smaragdus’s Sources

While the main sources for Theodulf’s *Exposition of the Apocalypse* were pseudo-Jerome, Victorinus, and a lost commentary, Smaragdus chose comments primarily from Bede and, to a lesser extent, Primasius, whose names were both mentioned in his preface. There Smaragdus also listed Tyconius as one of the great Fathers from which he would pluck fruit; but source analysis of the homilies shows that Smaragdus’s use of Tyconius came through the intermediation of Bede and Primasius.⁷⁸ In the *Homily on the Feast of Michael the Archangel*, Smaragdus also incorporated two quotations from the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*.⁷⁹ In the *Homily on the Eighth Sunday after Pentecost* and *The Homily on the Feast of the Holy Innocents*, Smaragdus utilized Theodulf’s *Exposition* extensively, showing that he possessed the text contained in Theodulf’s exegetical miscellany and deemed it useful. At the beginning and end of the *Homily on the Feast of the Holy Innocents* are several lines of commentary whose authorship cannot be identified. Perhaps they are comments of an unknown source or by Smaragdus himself.⁸⁰

Although Smaragdus clearly gathered comments from the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* and from Theodulf, neither is mentioned explicitly in his preface. One reason may be that Smaragdus did not intend his list of nineteen authors to be exhaustive; however, it is possible that these two

works, the *Handbook* and Theodulf's *Exposition*, are listed in Smaragdus's preface, but under other names. An inspection of the list reveals that chronology was not the organizing principle for the order of names, since Tyconius appears after Fulgentius and Cassiodorus, and Primasius after Isidore and Bede. Rather, Smaragdus seemed to cluster his authors with other considerations in mind, at least toward the end of his list. There he mentioned Pelagius and Origen together because both, in his words, "must be approached cautiously." Directly before Pelagius and Origen may be a grouping of authors who expounded upon the Apocalypse. It reads "Tyconius [*sic*], Isidore, Figulus, Bede, Primasius." Tyconius and Primasius wrote commentaries on no other biblical books except the Apocalypse; moreover, Bede's Apocalypse commentary is well known, showing commonality between three of the five authors.⁸¹ If these five names do constitute a group of Apocalypse commentators, explaining the presence of Isidore and Figulus among them is more difficult and involves conjecture. Isidore wrote a preface to the Apocalypse, but that text does not appear to have been used in Smaragdus's three homilies on the Apocalypse.⁸² It is possible that Smaragdus had ascribed to Isidore the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*, which he used. A manuscript from the middle of the ninth century (Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale 109) contains the *Handbook* together with a series of genuine works of Isidore.⁸³ The unknown Figulus could be the author of the unidentified comments in the *Homily on the Feast of the Holy Innocents*; or, Smaragdus may have known that a monk/scribe at Micy named Figulus was chiefly involved in the production of the "exegetical miscellany" under the supervision of Theodulf, the miscellany which contained the *Exposition*.⁸⁴ If so, the name Figulus is listed in the preface in place of Theodulf. More research is needed for confirmation of these suggestions, especially on the question of whether or not Isidore's writings are used in other homilies in the *Collections*, and on the prosopography of Figulus.⁸⁵

The three homilies on the Apocalypse found in Smaragdus's *Collections* reveal what texts on the Apocalypse an abbot-scholar serving in Charlemagne's empire in northeastern France deemed most helpful both for interpreting the mysteries of the Book of Revelation and for communicating those explanations to their audiences.

Appendices

An exegetical miscellany which contains an *Exposition on the Apocalypse* and a collection of homiletic material gathered from the Fathers are not the only windows into early medieval understanding of the last book of the Bible. Apocalyptic literature and treatises on Antichrist circulating at that time, although not abundant, also provide glimpses of their authors' views about the biblical Apocalypse.⁸⁶ Various forms of visual art, that depict scenes from the Apocalypse, represent another form of exegesis.⁸⁷ Additionally, text surrounding the Book of Revelation in Carolingian Bibles, such as prefaces, chapter headings, interlinear glosses, and marginalia, indicate how the text was understood, and two of such texts have been chosen for inclusion as appendices.

The first is a *Preface to the Apocalypse* contained in one of the six extant Theodulfian Bibles. This Bible, preserved in the Le Puy Cathedral of our Lady (*Cathédrale Notre-Dame du Puy*) in France, was created under Theodulf's supervision in a scriptorium of one of the abbeys over which he presided. That Bible contains two prefaces to the Apocalypse on folio 316, one from the sixth century or earlier that circulated in the name of Jerome, and another anonymous preface from the eighth century of Spanish provenance.⁸⁸ Both prefaces were edited by Donatien de Bruyne, and his edition was used for the English translation.⁸⁹ Only a translation of the latter is appended in this book, for a translation of the pseudo-Jerome preface has previously appeared in publication.⁹⁰ Although this *Preface* was composed in the eighth century in Spain, it was still being read and heard in France in the time of Theodulf by the users of his Bible, and for that reason it is included in this book.

The *Preface* includes introductory information about the Apocalypse, such as authorship, time of composition, and the purpose of this biblical book. It relates that the author was John, who founded the church at Ephesus and presided there until his death. John, it says, first wrote the Gospel and then the Apocalypse. He wrote the Apocalypse, it says, during his exile on the island of Patmos by the emperor Domitian. Concerning its significance in the Scripture, the author of the *Preface* relates that Genesis and the Apocalypse are parallel texts forming appropriate bookends to the Bible, the book of Genesis being written by Moses, considered the meekest person of all, and the Apocalypse composed by John, the most beloved by Jesus. While Genesis presents the beginning of the law, the Apocalypse reveals the fulfillment of the entire law of the Old and New Testaments.

According to the author of the *Preface*, the angels addressed in the letters to the seven churches in Rev 2–3 refer to church leaders, a common interpretation in the early Middle Ages found, for example, in Caesarius, Cassiodorus, and Gregory the Great. This interpretation stands in contrast with that of Tyconius, who interpreted the angels as symbols of the churches themselves.⁹¹ The visions of the Apocalypse, according to the *Preface*, contain mysteries about both the present time and the end of the world, and announce both the eternal beatitude and glory laid up for the righteous and eternal punishment for the ungodly. Interestingly, the *Preface* uses the phrase “the glory of the first resurrection” to describe the aforementioned beatitude, terminology vestigial of early chiliast thought.⁹²

The second appended translation is a list of forty-eight *Chapter Headings of the Book of the Apocalypse of the Apostle John* (*Capitula libri Apocalypsis Joannis apostoli*) found in a ninth-century manuscript (Codex Vat. 4221). The *Chapter Headings* were edited in 1891 by Johannes Haussleiter, and his edition was used for the translation.⁹³ To the *Chapter Headings* I have added the corresponding chapter and verse numbers that are used in modern Bibles.

The present-day division of chapters in the Bible derives from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;⁹⁴ however, in the early Middle Ages, various chapter headings summarizing the contents of a section were often included with biblical texts and commentaries. Sometimes they appeared “as separate titles before each respective section,” or were “grouped together at the beginning or end of a book much like a modern table of contents.”⁹⁵ Often such capitularies were not written by the same author of a text but later by another. These forty-eight *Chapter Headings* for sections of the Apocalypse differ in content and number from the ninety-eight chapter headings in Primasius’s *Commentary on the Apocalypse* and the thirty-eight chapter headings associated with Bede’s *Exposition of the Apocalypse*.⁹⁶

The number of chapter headings, forty-eight, is likely not without significance. For early medieval exegetes of the Apocalypse the numbers contained therein possessed mystical significance. The Apocalypse mentions twenty-four elders seated on thrones (Rev 4:4) and in early medieval commentaries they often represented the church.⁹⁷ Early medieval expositors often interpreted the number two, such as when the Apocalypse mentions two witnesses in Rev 11:3 and two wings in 12:14, as symbols of the two testaments.⁹⁸ Sometimes numbers are added together, multiplied, or divided. For example, on Rev 4:4 Bede wrote about the twenty-four thrones that John perceives the church “born through the twofold tes-

tament of the patriarchs and the apostles ... ”⁹⁹ In that comment, Bede had multiplied the number twelve, representing the church, by the number two, representing the testaments. The number of forty-eight *Chapter Headings* was probably the result of a similar multiplication of the number of elders, representing the entire church, by the number two, corresponding to the Old and New Testaments. This number of chapter headings, therefore, most likely sought to portray that the Apocalypse was the completion of the revelation of God for the entire people of God.

Chapter headings often indicate how the author interpreted the contents of the section. For example, on Rev 10:8–11, the heading says that John was ordered by an angel to eat a book “in order to interpret the prophets.” Indeed the biblical passage has an angel giving John a book and saying: *Take it, and eat it* (Rev 10:9); however the reason for his eating is not in the biblical text, but was the interpretation of the author of the *Chapter Headings*. Also, according to the author of these *Chapter Headings*, the vision at the end of Rev 19 contains a continuation or recapitulation of the judgment of the harlot in Rev 18: on Rev 19:11–21 the heading reads: “Concerning the just judgment and the destruction of the inhabitants of the harlot.” Thus, these forty-eight *Chapter Headings* on the Apocalypse are another means of viewing how the Apocalypse was being interpreted in the ninth century.

Theodulf, Smaragdus and Early Ninth-Century Biblical Exegesis

In the early ninth century Theodulf’s *Exposition* and Smaragdus’s *Homilies* both made abundant use of past authorities. These texts show that the employment of particular texts on the Apocalypse had changed considerably from earlier centuries. Sixth-century commentators on the Apocalypse, such as Caesarius, Primasius, Apringius, and Cassiodorus, mainly gleaned from the expositions of Victorinus and Tyconius. By the early ninth century, however, Victorinus was being incorporated less and less, and usually appears through the recension of Jerome. Moreover, while in the eighth century the *Exposition* of Tyconius was still being cited by commentators like Bede, the Hiberno-Latin authors, and Beatus, Tyconius was increasingly being utilized through intermediaries. For example, Tyconius appears in the commentary of Ambrose Autpert, but via Primasius; and the commentaries associated with Alcuin utilized Tyconius, but through

Bede and Ambrose Autpert. Similarly, the incorporation of Victorinus and Tyconius by Theodulf and Smaragdus was largely indirect.

By the early ninth century a clear shift had taken place regarding which authorities were considered most useful for explaining the Apocalypse. Theodulf and Smaragdus, writing in 810 and 812, were almost exclusively quoting, summarizing, and abbreviating texts on the Apocalypse that had been composed within a century and a half from their own lifetimes. For Theodulf, they were the Hiberno-Latin sources: the late seventh-century pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* and a lost commentary from the early eighth century; and for Smaragdus, the Apocalypse commentary of Bede from the early eighth century and the *Exposition* of his mentor, Theodulf, written two years prior.

Theodulf's *Exposition* and Smaragdus's *Homilies* are largely compilations because early ninth-century recipients of those texts desired that biblical commentaries not be innovative, but instead be based on earlier authorities.¹⁰⁰ As John Contreni indicated, most Carolingian biblical exegesis was inspired more "by pedagogical concerns" than "by any impulse to push on to new exegetical frontiers."¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, Theodulf and Smaragdus were not unoriginal editors, nor were the *Exposition* and *Homilies* "simplistic assortments of various authors, like elementary anthologies."¹⁰² The editorial process of creating these texts was purposeful, creative, and intellectually challenging.¹⁰³ It first involved a gathering of earlier texts related to the Apocalypse, followed by judicious selection of these which best suited their compilations for the maximum usefulness of their hearers. Then followed evaluation of which comments from those earlier texts were most appropriate for inclusion, and which passages were to be abridged, paraphrased, or excluded. Last was the decision of how to shape, arrange, and synthesize those passages into a cohesive whole.

Theodulf used the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* as his base text, but where this authority was silent and did not comment on a specific verse or verses of the Apocalypse, the bishop supplemented it with material from the lost commentary and Victorinus-Jerome.¹⁰⁴ Theodulf at times deliberately chose to exclude certain comments of pseudo-Jerome. For example, on Rev 14:18 pseudo-Jerome interpreted the angel as "the order of preachers or Raphael."¹⁰⁵ Theodulf included his first comment but excluded his second. On the number of the beast in Rev 13:18, Theodulf excluded all of pseudo-Jerome's comments in favor of material from Victorinus-Jerome and the lost commentary. And on Rev 20:11 and 13, Theodulf excluded all of pseudo-Jerome's comments in favor of those in the lost commen-

tary. While the early medieval expositions of the Apocalypse of Bede and Smaragdus comment at length on the stones of Rev 21:19, Theodulf limited his comments on the stones to a few lines of text.

Sometimes Theodulf chose to include two or three different interpretations that he gathered from his three main sources. For example, on Rev 16:12 he used comments from the lost commentary followed by those from pseudo-Jerome. On Rev 20:12 he first selected pseudo-Jerome and then added comments from the lost commentary. On the pale horse of Rev 6:8 Theodulf provided the interpretations of all three of his sources, first pseudo-Jerome, then the lost commentary, and then Victorinus-Jerome. And occasionally on a specific verse, such as on Rev 16:19, he uses none of his sources. In these instances it is presumed that he had composed his own comments.

For his *Homily on the Feast of Michael the Archangel* Smaragdus chose for his interpretations of Rev 1:1–5 three “authorities”: Bede, Primasius, and pseudo-Jerome. Moving successively from one to another, he gave two interpretations of Bede on verse 1, then selected comments from Primasius on verses 1–5, and finished with two quotes on verse 5 from pseudo-Jerome, with a final comment from Primasius. In his *Homily on the Eighth Sunday after Pentecost* on Rev 4:1–10 Smaragdus used Theodulf and Bede. He first reproduced Theodulf’s exposition of verses 1–10, followed by Bede’s on verses 1–3. He then diverted to Bede’s lengthy discussion of the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem on Rev 21:19–20, and returned with Bede’s comments on Rev 4:4–10. Finally, in the *Homily on the Feast of Holy Innocents* on Rev 14:1–5 Smaragdus seems to have begun and ended his homily with comments from an unknown source—perhaps Figulus—or his own thoughts. Additionally, on verse 1 he chose comments from Theodulf, Bede, and Primasius in that order. On verses 2 and 3, he went back and forth three times between Theodulf and Bede. On verses 4 and 5 Smaragdus selected Bede exclusively.

In summary, both Theodulf and Smaragdus engaged in a type of thoughtful exegesis that resourced the past to create contemporary texts which were desired by, and helpful to, their Carolingian audiences. The result of their creative processes was an expository commentary and three homilies which explained the Apocalypse verse by verse, and in many cases word by word. These products, Theodulf’s *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John* and Smaragdus’s *Homilies on the Apocalypse*, featured “shorter, more tightly woven extracts from and paraphrasings of older writings” that intended to satisfy Carolingian intellectual preoccupations, spiritually

edify their hearers and readers, and equip their recipients with tools that would be helpful in their ministerial duties.¹⁰⁶

NOTES

¹ Ann Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans: A Visigoth at Charlemagne’s Court,” in *L’Europe héritière de l’Espagne wisigothique*, ed. Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi (Paris: Casa de Velazquez, 1992), 185–94; and Hans Liebeschütz, “Theodulf of Orleans and the Problem of the Carolingian Renaissance,” in *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*, ed. D. J. Gordon (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957), 77–92.

² June-Ann Theresa Greeley, “Social Commentary in the Prose and Poetry of Theodulf of Orleans: A Study in Carolingian Humanism,” (PhD diss., Fordham University, 2000), 135.

³ Ann Freeman and Paul Meyvaert, eds., *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum: Libri Carolini* (Hannover: Hahn, 1998); Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*,” *Speculum* 32 (1957): 663–705; Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the Psalm Citations of the ‘*Libri Carolini*,’” *Revue bénédictine* 97 (1987): 195–224. Both of her articles have been reprinted in Freeman, *Theodulf of Orléans: Charlemagne’s Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS772 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Meyvaert, “The Authorship of the *Libri Carolini*: Observations Prompted by a Recent Book,” *Revue bénédictine* 89 (1979): 29–57.

⁴ Chris Fenner, “Theodulf: Theologian at Charlemagne’s Court, Poet, and Bishop of Orleans,” *The Hymn* 63:1 (Winter 2012): 13–20 at 14.

⁵ Ann Collins Smith and Owen M. Smith, “Theodulf of Orléans (ca. 750/760–821),” in *The Rise of the Medieval World 500–1300*, ed. Jana K. Schulman (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 416–17. On Theodulf’s poetry, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, trans. Theodore M. Andersson, in collaboration with Aslaug Ommundsen and Leslie S. B. MacCoull, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 450 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014); Meyvaert, *The Art of Words: Bede and Theodulf* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Christopher John Blakeman, “A Commentary, with Introduction, Text, and Translation, on Selected Poems of Theodulf of Orléans (Sirmond III.1–6)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Saint Andrews, 1991); Nikolai A. Alexandrenko, “The Poetry of Theodulf of Orleans: A Translation and Critical Study” (PhD diss., Tulane University of Louisiana, 1970).

⁶ Fenner, “Theodulf,” 17–18; *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. Michael Walsh (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001), 1101.

⁷ On Theodulf’s role as *missus dominicus*, King Charlemagne’s representative in southern Gaul, see Liebeschütz, “Theodulf of Orleans and the Problem of the Carolingian Renaissance,” 83–87.

⁸ See his *Chapters to the Priests of his Diocese (Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae*

suae). PL 105:191–224; and Freeman, “Theodulf of Orléans, a Visigoth at Charlemagne’s Court,” 191.

⁹ E. K. Rand cited in Freeman, “Theodulph of Orléans and the *Libri Carolini*,” 693. Greeley (“Social Commentary,” 154) said that there was “no other instance of Biblical scholarship in the Middle Ages or even during the early Renaissance that so closely resembles the modern method of creating a critical text.”

¹⁰ Caroline Chevalier-Royet, “Les révisions bibliques de Théodulf d’Orléans et la question de leur utilisation par l’exégèse Carolingienne,” in *Études d’exégèse carolingienne: Autour d’Haymon d’Auxerre*, ed. Sumi Shimahara (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 237–56 at 241; Jean Vezin, “Les scriptoria de Neustrie, 650–850,” in *La Neustrie*, ed. Hartmut Atsma (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1989), 2:307–18 at 311.

¹¹ Gillian Vallance Mackie, “Theodulf of Orléans and the Ark of the Covenant: A New Allegorical Interpretation at Germigny-des-Prés,” *Racar* 32 (2007): 45–58; Freeman and Meyvaert, “The Meaning of Theodulf’s Apse Mosaic at Germigny-des-Prés,” *Gesta* 40:2 (2001): 125–39.

¹² *De spiritu sancto*, PL 105:239–76

¹³ Fenner, “Theodulf,” 19, n. 25.

¹⁴ *De ordine baptismi*, PL 105:223–40.

¹⁵ In exile Theodulf may have also resided in Le Mans. On the accusation of treason and Theodulf’s last years, see June-Ann Theresa Greeley, “Raptors and Rebellion: The Self-Defence of Theodulf of Orleans,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006): 28–75; Thomas F. X. Noble, “Some Observations on the Deposition of Archbishop Theodulf of Orleans in 817,” *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 2 (1981): 29–40.

¹⁶ John Contreni, “Theodulf of Orléans,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1989), 12:20.

¹⁷ James R. Ginther, *The Westminster Handbook to Medieval Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), 174.

¹⁸ Michael Gorman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the Exegetical Miscellany in Paris Lat. 15679,” *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999): 278–323 at 279; Greeley, “Social Commentary,” 127. On page 2 of that same work, Greeley called Theodulf “a devoted son of the church” and “a loyal servant ... eagerly engaged in his monarch’s sovereign plans of cultural renovation and civic reform.”

¹⁹ Johannes Heil, “Haimo’s Commentary on Paul. Sources, Methods and Theology,” in Shimahara, *Études d’Exégèse Carolingienne*, 103–21 at 116–19.

²⁰ Gorman, “Theodulf of Orléans and the Exegetical Miscellany,” 280.

²¹ Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. Michael M. Gorman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 109.

²² The pseudo-Jerome *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John* (*Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Johannis Apostoli*) was edited by Roger Gryson in *Commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, CCSL 107 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 159–229. An English translation and discussion of its date is in *Early*

Latin Commentaries on the Apocalypse ed. Francis X. Gumerlock (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016), 3–4, 21–43.

²³ This is Gryson's explanation (*Commentaria minora*, 300) for Theodulf's use of the two other sources besides the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*. He gives as evidence Theodulf's extensive use of the lost commentary on Rev 16–20, chapters on which pseudo-Jerome's comments were very sparse.

²⁴ The commentary of Victorinus and its recension by Jerome are edited by Iohannes Haussleiter in *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera*, CSEL 49 (Leipzig: Freytag, 1916). An English translation of Victorinus's commentary is in *Latin Commentaries on Revelation*, trans. William C. Weinrich (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2011), 1–22. Jerome's recension, published under the name of Victorinus, was translated by Robert Ernest Wallis in ANF 7:343–60. Gryson (*Commentaria minora*, 300–301) noted that several recensions of Jerome's edition of Victorinus were created after the year 500, but that Theodulf used an early form of Jerome's edition.

²⁵ *De enigmatibus* was edited by Gryson in *Commentaria minora*, CCSL 107:231–95. An English translation is in Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries*, 44–98. The *Cambridge Gloss on the Apocalypse* was edited by Gryson in *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin*, CCSL 108G (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). It is currently being translated into English by Colin McAllister of the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs. On the lost commentary, see Gryson, *Commentaria minora*, 238–39, 242, 300; Gryson, ed., *Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos*, CCSL 107A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 64–65; Gryson, *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin*, 28; and Martin McNamara, “The Newly-Identified Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary and the Reference Bible: A Preliminary Enquiry,” *Peritia* 15 (2001): 208–56 at 219–20.

²⁶ For the correspondence between certain comments in Theodulf's *Exposition* and comments in *De enigmatibus* and the *Cambridge Gloss*, see Gryson's critical apparatus in all three editions.

²⁷ On Rev 5:2 in Theodulf's *Exposition*, a brief phrase comes verbatim from Primasius, which does not appear to have been derived from either the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* or the lost commentary. Also on Rev 4:8, Theodulf's phrase *non desinunt laudare dominum* (CCSL 107:313) is closer to Primasius's *dominum laudare non cessat* (CCSL 92:57) than to Tyconius's *semper laudat deum* (CCSL 107A:133). Additional research on Theodulf's use of Primasius is needed. Several comments in Theodulf's *Exposition* which match Bede's (for example on 2:18; 6:12; 7:2; 20:11) seem to have derived not from Bede but from the lost commentary, as they appear in the *Reference Bible* or *Cambridge Gloss*.

²⁸ Paterius, *Liber de expositione ueteris et noui testamenti*. PL 79:1119–22.

²⁹ In Theodulf's comments on Rev 2:17, 28; 3:1, 12; 4:6; 5:4; 6:13; 10:2; 11:10; 14:14; 15:3; 18:8, 23, 24; 20:7; 21:1; 22:1.

³⁰ In Theodulf's comments on Rev. 3:7, 16; 4:1; 6:5; 7:1, 9; 8:7; 12:16; 13:14; 14:20; and 17:19.

³¹ It is possible that Theodulf did get these eleven quotations from the lost

commentary, but there is no way to confirm this since they only appear in his *Exposition* and not in the *Reference Bible* or *Cambridge Gloss*. A hint for the theory that Theodulf may have cited more of Tyconius from the lost commentary than the *Reference Bible* and *Cambridge Gloss* is in Theodulf's comments on Rev 11:6. Theodulf has an exact quote from Tyconius, where the *Cambridge Gloss* simply paraphrased Tyconius.

³² The Apocalypse commentaries of Caesarius, Primasius, Bede, Ambrose Autpert, and Alcuin can be ruled out as that indirect source of Tyconius. Some of the Tyconian comments in Theodulf's *Exposition*, which do not come from pseudo-Jerome or the lost commentary, do appear in Caesarius (on Rev 4:1;6:5;7:9;14:20) but some do not (on Rev 3:16; 13:14; 17:9). Some of the aforementioned Tyconian comments (on Rev 13:14; 17:9) do not appear in Primasius. Some of the aforementioned Tyconian comments are in Bede (on Rev 4:1; 6:5; 12:16; 14:20), but many are not (on Rev 3:7, 16; 4:10; 7:1, 9; 8:7; 13:14). Many of them do not appear in the commentaries of Ambrose Autpert and Alcuin.

³³ Supporting this theory, the Tyconian comment that appears in Theodulf's *Exposition* on Rev 17:9 appears elsewhere only in Beatus of Liebana, which Theodulf did not possess. Also on Rev 4:10, Theodulf has *quicquid dignitatis*, a phrase not in pseudo-Jerome. The lost commentary had *quicquid bonitatis*. But the reading *dignitatis* is in Tyconius (CCSL 107A:133). There may have been a copy of Tyconius's *Exposition of the Apocalypse* in one of the monasteries over which Theodulf presided. The library at the monastery in Fleury, where Theodulf was abbot, possessed "one of the most considerable of medieval libraries" (Greeley, "Social Commentary," 135), so it may have held a copy, but there is no direct evidence for this. Charlemagne's library, or the library at the monastery in Tours where Alcuin was abbot from 796 to his death in 804, may have possessed a copy, but there is also no direct evidence of this. Alcuin, who served Charlemagne concurrently with Theodulf, mentioned Tyconius's commentary in the prologue of his own Apocalypse commentary (PL 100:1087); but the Alcuinian authorship of this work is disputed. Also, the author of the Apocalypse commentary in PL 100, even if it were Alcuin, probably did not have Tyconius, but was simply repeating what he read in the commentary of Ambrose Autpert. See E. Ann Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 38–50 at 41. In the early eighth century, Bede in England and the Irish glossators were still using Tyconius directly. In the late eighth century, Beatus of Liebana in northern Spain possessed Tyconius's commentary as well. But in the heart of Carolingian Europe, the area of present-day France and Germany, during the Carolingian renovation of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the *Exposition* of Tyconius does not seem to have been a text favored for copying and distribution, probably because of Tyconius's association with the Donatists, who were considered heretical. The last mention of a copy of Tyconius's *Exposition of the Apocalypse* in a medieval library is in a ninth-century list from the monastery

at St. Gall. See Gryson, *Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos* (CCSL 107A:20) and Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 183.

³⁴ Other factors probably included pseudo-Jerome's orthodoxy and his commitment to the "spiritual sense" of the passages in the Apocalypse.

³⁵ The various works in the miscellany are discussed in Gorman, "Theodulf of Orléans and the Exegetical Miscellany," 286–87.

³⁶ *Beati Alcuini Commentariorum in Apocalypsin libri quinque* in PL 100:1085–156. Its attribution to Alcuin is accepted by many scholars. But André Wilmart denied its Alcuin attribution in *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932), 52, n. 6, as did Bernard McGinn in *The Calabrian Abbot. Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 87. Derk Visser (*Apocalypse as Utopian Expectation (800–1500)*) [New York: Brill, 1996], 49) thought that its comment on Rev 3:5 (PL 100:1110) referred to the ninth-century controversy on predestination. But on closer inspection, when the author wrote "On this passage a great question arises among us" he was simply summarizing the comment of Ambrose Autpert (CCCM 27:165) who wrote in the eighth century. The *Explanatio Apocalypsis per interrogationem et responsionem* is in MS: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13581, fols. 3r–31r. E. Ann Matter suggested this question and answer manual was composed by Alcuin. See Matter, "Alcuin's Question-and-Answer Texts," *Revista di storia della filosofia* 4 (1990): 645–56. English translations of both of these texts attributed to Alcuin are in Sarah Van Der Pas, trans., *Alcuin of York on Revelation* (West Monroe, LA: Consolamini Publications, 2016).

³⁷ Similarly, Theodulf did not use as his main source Paterius's *Book of Exposition of the Old and New Testament* (PL 79), which gathered comments from Gregory the Great on only small portions of the Apocalypse.

³⁸ One small example of rivalry between Alcuin and Theodulf occurred in 796 when both composed epitaphs for Pope Hadrian who died on Christmas Day 795. Charlemagne sent a "magnificently inscribed marble slab to Rome" in commemoration of the pope, and Alcuin's epitaph was chosen over Theodulf's for the inscription. Mary Garrison, "The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne (780–814)," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 111–40 at 119–20.

³⁹ For the conflict between Theodulf and Alcuin over the escaped cleric, Rob Meens, "Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric," *Speculum* 82, no. 2 (2007): 277–300; Hélène Noizet, "Alcuin contre Théodulfe: Un conflit producteur de normes," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, Touraine* 11 (2004): 113–29; and Liutpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), 99–140.

⁴⁰ D. Schaller in "Poetic Rivalries at the Court of Charlemagne," in *Classical*

Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500, ed. Robert Ralph Bolgar (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 151–57 at 154.

⁴¹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Poem 25*, lines 214–15: *stet Scotellus ibi, res sine lege furens, res dira, hostis atrox, hebes horror, pestis acerba*, which Garrison (“Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature,” 26) translates as “Let the Irish twerp stand there, a thing raging without law, a dire thing, a savage foe, a sluggish horror, a bitter plague.” On Theodulf’s satire about Cadac-Andreas’s pronunciation, see lines 167–74 of the poem where it is inferred that the *Scottus* (Irishman) is a *sottus* (an idiot). Keith Sidwell, “Theodulf of Orléans, Cadac-Andreas and Old Irish Phonology: A Conundrum,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992): 55–62 at 56.

⁴² Heil, “Haimo’s Commentary on Paul,” 117.

⁴³ Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, 109.

⁴⁴ In *On the City of God*, 20.17, Augustine wrote that the Apocalypse contained many obscure passages which exercise the mind of its reader. Jerome (*Letter* 53.9) said that it contained “as many mysteries as it does words.”

⁴⁵ Theodulf of Orleans, The poem entitled “Preface to the Books of the Bible,” lines 135–36, in Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, 132.

⁴⁶ On the tropological sense in Theodulf, see Greeley, “Social Commentary,” 156.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ambrose Autpert, *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, Preface, CCCM 27:10; pseudo-Alcuin, *Five Books of Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, Preface, PL 100:1089; Caesarius of Arles, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, Homily 18, on Rev 20, trans. Weinrich, 104; Apringius of Beja, *Explanation of the Revelation*, on Rev 20:2, trans. Weinrich, 49.

⁴⁸ Mayke de Jong, “Monastic Writing and Carolingian Court Audiences: Some Evidence from Biblical Commentary,” in *Le scrittore dai monasteri*, ed. Flavia De Rubeis and Walter Pohl (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2003), 179–95 at 180.

⁴⁹ Theodulf also wrote a poem (*Poem 18*) entitled “That the Wicked Often Suffer Evil, and Concerning the Time of Antichrist,” which contains his views about Antichrist; in Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, 54–55.

⁵⁰ John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, 114.1; 121.5; *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius*, 9.9. See Stephen J. Davis, “Introducing an Arabic Commentary on the Apocalypse: Ibn Katib Qaysar on Revelation,” *Harvard Theological Review* 101, no. 1 (2008): 77–96 at 84–85.

⁵¹ Greeley (“Social Commentary,” 158) mentions “the existence in Spain then ... of a vigorous Jewish community living securely alongside Christians and followers of Islam.” She continued: “No other nation could boast of so diverse yet so tolerant a citizenry.”

⁵² James T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 111.

⁵³ John Williams, “Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana,” in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 217–33 at 229; Richard Abanes, *End-Time Visions: The Road to Armageddon?*

(Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1998), 169; Marjorie Reeves, “The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes,” in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents, and Repercussions*, ed. C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 40–72 at 44.

⁵⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 20:3 and 22:18, CCSL 107:225, 229.

⁵⁵ Theodulf of Orleans, *Poem 14*, entitled “That It May Be Shown by Many Signs That the End is Near,” trans. Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, 47–48.

⁵⁶ See the footnote on Theodulf’s comment on Rev 2:9 for exact references from these early Christian writers.

⁵⁷ Caesarius of Arles said that the great war in Rev 16:14 could refer to the first-century siege of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, and Bede interpreted a comment in Rev 7:9 as a reference to the spread of the gospel in the first century (Weinrich, 94, 135). Also, Beatus and the *Reference Bible* list first-century Roman emperors as the kings of Rev 17:9–10, but in early medieval Latin Apocalypse commentaries these sorts of interpretations are not the norm.

⁵⁸ Prosper of Aquitaine, *Official Pronouncements of the Apostolic See on Divine Grace and Free Will*, 8, in *Prosper of Aquitaine: Defense of St. Augustine*, trans. Prudentius de Letter, ACW 32 (New York: Newman, 1963), 183; *Lex supplicandi statuatur legem credendi* or “Let the rule of prayer lay down the rule of faith.” On this principle, Paul De Clerck, “Lex orandi, lex credendi: The Original Sense and Historical Avatars of an Equivocal Adage,” *Studia Liturgica* 24 (1994): 178–200.

⁵⁹ For example, C. Clifford Flanigan, “The Apocalypse and the Medieval Liturgy,” in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 333–51; E. Ann Matter, “The Pseudo-Alcuinian ‘De Septem Sigillis’: An Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis,” *Traditio* 36 (1980): 111–37.

⁶⁰ The homilies on the readings from the Apocalypse are in PL 102:48–50, 331–39, 475–77. There is no critical edition of the *Collections*.

⁶¹ On the date of 770 for Smaragdus’s birth, Roland Black, “Royal Advice and Religious Authority in Smaragdus of St. Mihiel’s *Via Regia*: An Analysis and Critical Edition” (Master’s thesis, Western Michigan University, 2016), 1. For evidence of Smaragdus’s Visigothic origins, see James Francis Lepree, “Sources of Spirituality and the Carolingian Exegetical Tradition” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2008), 130–31.

⁶² B. Löfstedt, L. Holtz, and A. Kibre, eds., *Smaragdus. Liber in partibus Donati*, CCSL 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986). On Smaragdus and grammar, Jean Leclercq, “Smaragde et la grammaire chrétienne,” *Revue du moyen âge latin* 4 (1948): 15–22.

⁶³ Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, 1. Both Theodulf and Smaragdus responded to Charlemagne’s call for treatises on the Holy Spirit. Smaragdus imitated a poem of Theodulf (*Poem 28*) in the preface to his *Book on Parts of Donatus*, while Smaragdus used Theodulf’s work on baptism and *Exposition of the Apocalypse*

in his *Collections*. See the Introduction to the edition of *Liber in partibus Donati* by Löfstedt, Holtz, and Kibre, x–xii; and Lepree, “Sources of Spirituality,” 132.

⁶⁴ Matthew D. Ponesse, “Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform,” *Revue Bénédictine* 116, no. 2 (2006): 367–92. The preface to the *Exposition of the Psalms* is extant in PL 129:1021–24, where it is falsely ascribed to Smaragdus of St. Maximin.

⁶⁵ Smaragdus, *De processione spiritus sancti*. An edition is in Harald Willjung, ed. *Das Konzil von Aachen 809*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Conc. II, Suppl. II (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), 303–12. See Black, “Royal Advice,” 4; Lepree, “Sources of Spirituality,” 133.

⁶⁶ *Epistola Caroli Magni ad Leonem Papam de processione Spiritus Sancti* (*Letter of Charles the Great to Pope Leo on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*), PL 93:923–29.

⁶⁷ Ponesse, “Smaragdus of St Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform,” 367.

⁶⁸ Smaragdus, *Via regia*, PL 102:931–70, edited in Black, “Royal Advice.”

⁶⁹ David Barry, trans., *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2007); Ponesse, “Editorial Practice in Smaragdus of St Mihiel’s Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict,” *Early Medieval Europe* 18, no. 1 (2010): 61–91.

⁷⁰ Barry, trans., *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. The Crown of Monks* (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2013).

⁷¹ Barry, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, 2.

⁷² Lepree, “Sources of Spirituality,” 140.

⁷³ Ponesse, “Standing Distant from the Fathers: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel and the Reception of Early Medieval Learning,” *Traditio* 67 (2012): 71–99 at 71.

⁷⁴ PL 102:13. Translation of Ponesse, “Standing Distant,” 71.

⁷⁵ Another title for the *Collections* is *Liber comitis* or “Book for his Friends,” PL 102:13.

⁷⁶ Aelfric of Eynsham used Smaragdus’s *Collections* for his own homilies. Joyce Hill, “Aelfric’s Homily on the Holy Innocents: The Sources Reviewed,” in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. Jane Roberts, Janet L. Nelson, and Malcolm Godden, (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), 89–98. On Aelfric’s homilies, see Benjamin Thorpe, ed., *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Aelfric* (London: Aelfric Society, 1844); Aaron J. Kleist, “Aelfric of Eynsham and the *Sermones catholici*,” chapter 7 in his *Striving with Grace: Views on Free Will in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 166–212; and Cyril Lawrence Smetana, *Aelfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1959); Smetana, “Aelfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary,” *Traditio* 15 (1959): 163–204.

⁷⁷ *The Commentarius in prophetas* is mentioned in PL 102:10.

⁷⁸ Tyconius was also incorporated into these homilies through the mediation of Theodulf’s *Exposition*, another of Smaragdus’s sources.

⁷⁹ The quotes of pseudo-Jerome are on Rev 1:5.

⁸⁰ On Rev 14:1 the comments from the unknown source are: “The Lamb is Christ, about whom John said: *Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world* (John 1:29). Mount Zion, which is interpreted ‘observation,’ is understood in this passage as the church, upon which the Lord Jesus Christ is reported to be standing, furnishing for her the help and fortification of his power and protection.” On Rev 14:5 the comments from the unknown source are: “*Without spot*, that is, without sin. For, the righteous are without spot when their forbearance obtains its reward, as the prophet said: *You will wash me and I shall become whiter than snow* (Ps 51:7). Therefore, blessed are those without spot, who are worthy to enter into eternal life.” Could these comments have derived from the lost *Twelve Homilies by Origen on the Apocalypse*? Origen is listed as a source in the preface to Smaragdus’s *Collections*. On that lost text of Origen or pseudo-Origen, see Joseph F. T. Kelly, “Early Medieval Evidence for Twelve Homilies by Origen on the Apocalypse,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 273–79. Steinhäuser (“Bemerkungen zum pseudo-hieronymischen Commemoratorium in Apocalypsin,” *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* [1979], 220–42 at 232–36) noticed the existence of common material between Smaragdus’s homilies and the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook*, and suggested that both were dependent upon a common source, perhaps the lost twelve homilies by Origen. However, a better explanation of the common material between Smaragdus and pseudo-Jerome is that Smaragdus had access to both the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook* and Theodulf’s *Exposition* which heavily depends on pseudo-Jerome.

⁸¹ It should be noted, however, that Bede’s commentaries on the Gospels also were used in other homilies in the *Collections*.

⁸² Isidore of Seville, *Preface to the Apocalypse*, ed. in Donatien de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Namur: Auguste Godenne, 1920), 261–62.

⁸³ Gryson, *Commentaria minora*, CCSL 107:163–65. In another ninth-century manuscript containing the *Handbook* (Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek Patr. 102) two other works are falsely attributed to Isidore.

⁸⁴ Nicknaming a monk “Figulus” is in harmony with the common practice of Carolingian teachers nicknaming their students and friends after classical authors. Publius Nigidius Figulus (98–45 BC) was a friend of Cicero and author of *Commentarii grammatici*.

⁸⁵ If Isidore is not used elsewhere in the *Collections*, this might confirm the suggestion that Smaragdus had ascribed to Isidore the pseudo-Jerome *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*.

⁸⁶ For example, there are eight extant manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries of Latin translations of the *Revelations of pseudo-Methodius*. See Palmer, *Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 119. See also Theodulf’s *Poem 18* entitled “That the Wicked Often Suffer Evil, and Concerning the Time of Antichrist,” in Andersson, *Theodulf of Orléans: The Verse*, 54–55. Also the seventh-century text, *A Few Excerpts on the Monogram* (*Pauca de monogramma excerpta*; CCSL 107:131–57), a collection of excerpts on the “mark of the beast” in Rev 13, was

being copied in the ninth century (MS: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2384, fol. 68r–v). See Gryson, *Commentaria minora*, 148.

⁸⁷ For example, from the early ninth century there are illustrations of the adoration of the Lamb in the Gospels of Saint Médard at Soissons, a fresco of the Last Judgment at Mustair, a depiction of Saint Michael slaying the dragon in ivory that was in Charlemagne's palace, the Juvenianus Codex which shows John receiving his vision on Patmos, various frontispieces of Carolingian picture Bibles, the Valenciennes 99 manuscript with about forty pictures related to the Apocalypse, the Book of Armagh's diagram of the New Jerusalem, and the Trier apocalypse with about seventy pictures illustrating scenes from the Apocalypse. See Michael Fromaget, *Majestas Domini: Les quatre vivants de l'Apocalypse dans l'art* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 35; Peter K. Klein, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Art," in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 159–99 at 163–65, 171, 176–77, 180; Frederick van der Meer, *Apocalypse: Visions from the Book of Revelation in Western Art* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1978), 74–77, 87, 93–101; Stanislas Giet, "La bête et le dragon de l'Apocalypse d'après des images anciennes," *Revue du moyen age latin* 21 (1965): 5–20 at 9; James Snyder, "The Reconstruction of an Early Christian Cycle of Illustrations for the Book of Revelation: The Trier Apocalypse," *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964): 146–62; Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocalypse in Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 22; John Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus: The Book of Armagh* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1913).

⁸⁸ A description of the contents of the Theodulfian Bible in Le Puy, including the incipits of its prefaces to the Apocalypse, is in Léopold Delisle, "Les bibles de Théodulfe," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 40 (1879): 5–47 at 24.

⁸⁹ Donatien de Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine* (Namur: Auguste Godenne, 1920), 261–62.

⁹⁰ The pseudo-Jerome preface is translated in Gumerlock, "Chromatius of Aquileia on John 21.22 and Rev. 10.11 Against a Legend about the Apostle John," in *The Book of Revelation and Its Interpreters*, ed. Ian Boxall and Richard Tresley, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 53–63 at 61. The anonymous eighth-century preface differs from a preface by Isidore of Seville, which de Bruyne also edited.

⁹¹ Caesarius of Arles, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, Homily 2, trans. Weinrich, 66; Cassiodorus, *Brief Explanatory Notes on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14, CCSL 107:115–17; Gregory the Great, *Moral Teaching on Job* 34.7 [14], 38–53, CCSL 143:1742–43; Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:19–20, CCSL 107A:110.

⁹² Ancient chiliasts believed in two resurrections separated by a period of a thousand years, the first of the righteous before the millennium and the second of the unrighteous after the millennium. Although by the sixth century in the West chiliastic interpretations of the thousand years of Rev 20:1–6 practically disappeared, prayers for the dead from ancient times, which asked that the

departed “might have a part in the first resurrection,” remained in some liturgical texts into the early Middle Ages. See Bernard Botte, “Prima resurrectio, un visage de millénarisme dans les liturgies occidentales,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 15 (1948): 5–17.

⁹³ Johannes Haussleiter, ed., *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche* (Erlangen, Germany: A. Deichert, 1891), 197–99.

⁹⁴ The present chapter divisions in the Bible have been attributed to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher. B.J. Oropeza, *99 Reasons Why No One Knows When Christ Will Return* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1994), 56; Johann Heinrich Kurtz, *Church History*, vol. 2 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), 107.

⁹⁵ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 110.

⁹⁶ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, CCSL 92. In Primasius’s commentary, *capitula* are placed before each of five books, and total 98. Those associated with Bede are listed in Gryson, ed., *Bedaes presbyteri. Expositio Apocalypseos*, CCSL 121A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 137–41. An English translation of those ascribed to Bede are in Faith Wallis, trans., *Bede. Commentary on Revelation*, Translated Texts for Historians 58 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 287–91.

⁹⁷ Reference Bible, *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries*, 52; Ambrose Autpert, *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CCCM 27:210–11.

⁹⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 12:14, Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, 31; Reference Bible, *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 12:14, Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries*, 67; Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:14, trans. Weinrich, 152; Ambrose Autpert, *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 11:3 and 12:14, CCCM 27:414, 470.

⁹⁹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, trans. Weinrich, 125.

¹⁰⁰ Greeley, “Social Commentary,” 106–07; Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards, “The Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture,” in Chazelle and Edwards, eds., *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 1–16 at 5–11; Giles Brown, “Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance,” in McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture*, 1–51 at 18.

¹⁰¹ Contreni, “Carolingian Biblical Studies,” 79. On the pedagogical intentions of Theodulfian Bibles, see Greeley, “Social Commentary,” 154–55.

¹⁰² Thomas O’Loughlin, “Tradition and Exegesis in the Eighth Century: The Use of Patristic Sources in Early Medieval Scriptural Commentaries,” in O’Loughlin, ed., *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 217–39 at 239.

¹⁰³ John Williams, “Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus of Liébana,” in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 217–33 at 219; Contreni, “Carolingian Biblical Studies,” in *Carolingian*

Essays, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983), 71–98 at 85–86, 88, 90–93.

¹⁰⁴ For example, pseudo-Jerome did not comment on Rev 2:4, 9, 11, so Theodulf used Victorinus-Jerome's comments on 2:4, 9–11. Pseudo-Jerome did not comment on Rev 3:1, 5; 12:7–13; 14:3–4; 16:13–14, 17; 17:8–14; 18:4–17; 19:1–9; 21:4; 22:3. Theodulf used the lost commentary on those verses.

¹⁰⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:18, CCSL 107:221.

¹⁰⁶ Chazelle and Edwards, "The Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture," 12.

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Theodulf of Orleans

Exposition on the Apocalypse of John (810)

HERE BEGINS THE EXPOSITION on the Apocalypse of John.

Chapter 1

1 *The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ.* “Apocalypse’ is interpreted [to mean] ‘Revelation.’¹ *Which God gave to him.* Here the Trinity is understood. *To make plain to his servants,* that is, to show to believers in Christ, *the things which must happen shortly,* that is, what is contained in this Revelation. *Shortly,* before the death of each person, or the Day of Judgment, comes. *He signified,* that is, sealed, God the Father *sending through his angel* since the *angel of great counsel* (Isa 9:6) is Christ.² *To his servant John.* “John is interpreted ‘grace of the Lord.’”³

2 “*Who bore witness*” to the word of God, “that is: *In the beginning was the Word* (John 1:1). *And testimony of Jesus Christ,* that is, of the Incarnation. *Whatever he saw,* either concerning his glory or concerning the Incarnation.”⁴

3 *Blessed is the one who reads and who hears the words of this prophecy,* that is, those who fulfill them through action.⁵ “*For the time is near,* that is, for each person, or the Day of Judgment.”⁶

4 *John to the seven churches which are in Asia.* “Asia’ is interpreted ‘elevation.’⁷ Elevation is understood in two ways: either concerning the righteous on account of their good works, or concerning sinners. John wrote ‘to seven churches’ because of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit,⁸ each of which he had a portion. The seven churches contain a figure of all the saints. One of those churches does not have sin, as revealed by the consolation [given to it]. *Grace to you and peace from God.* There cannot be peace unless grace precedes. ‘Grace’ is understood in three ways, that is, baptism, penance, and perseverance. *Who is,* who always is. *Who was,* [who] in the present is in the flesh. *Who is to come* for the judgment.”⁹

“*And from the seven spirits 5 and from Jesus Christ.* Here also the Trinity is understood. *Who is a faithful witness*, because through his death he bore witness to the new covenant, and because he bore witness of the resurrection of the dead and first demonstrated it in himself. *The firstborn of the dead*, because ‘He arose as first from the dead.’¹⁰ *And prince of the kings of the earth*,” that is, “of the apostles and of all the saints. *Who loved us*, etc. when he redeemed the human race.”¹¹

6 “*And made us a kingdom of priests.* Before Christ was born, priests were from one tribe” and kings were from one [tribe], “but after Christ came into the world, he made us all kings and priests *for his God and Father.*”¹²

7 “*Behold, he comes with the clouds*,” etc., “because with a cloud he ascended to heaven with angels,¹³ and with a cloud or with the powers of the heaven¹⁴ he will descend for judgment. *And every eye will see him*, that is, on the Day of Judgment, *even those who pierced him. And all the tribes of the earth will mourn*, that is, the Jews or those who denied Christ.”¹⁵

9 “*I, John, your brother*, etc. Brothers are understood in four ways: by nature, by relationship, by affection, and by adoption.”¹⁶ *And partner “in tribulation*, in persecution, *and in the kingdom* in the future, *and in patience in Jesus.*”¹⁷

10 “*I was in the Spirit*, in the grace of the Holy Spirit.” *On the island.* Because the sea surrounds it, it signifies tribulation.¹⁸ “*On the Lord’s day*, in the new covenant, because neither the darkness of ignorance nor the power of the devil are there. It is called the Lord’s day because of the resurrection.” *And “heard behind me a great voice*, [great] because it told of great things, that is, about the passion, about the resurrection, and the Day of Judgment. *As of a trumpet.* Through the ‘trumpet’ is understood preaching since each preacher is called a trumpet.”¹⁹

11 *What you see “write in a book*, in his heart so that it would not be forgotten. Ephesus is interpreted ‘will’ or ‘my counsel,’ Smyrna ‘their song,’ Pergamum ‘dividing their horns,’ Thyatira ‘illuminated,’ Sardis ‘first in beauty,’ Philadelphia ‘preserving an inheritance for the Lord,’ and Laodicea ‘tribe beloved to the Lord.’”²⁰

12 “*And I turned to see the voice*, converted to good work. Vision is more sublime than hearing. He saw not with carnal but spiritual” [eyes]. *I saw seven golden candlesticks*, that is, “seven churches which are under the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.”²¹ The candlestick is understood as each preacher.”²²

13 *And in the midst of the candlesticks one like the Son of Man clothed with a garment, etc.* “*In the midst of the candlesticks*, that is, the midst of the churches,”²³ “because Christ is among all saints. ‘Like the Son of Man’ because he put on mortality. ‘Clothed’ (Lat. *podere*). [A *poderis*] is a priestly garment.²⁴ The clothing of Christ is understood as spiritual priests. *And girt about the breasts* because neither before the beginning of the world nor after its end is his power known, but only in the intervening time. Through ‘the breasts’ is understood spiritual teaching. Through the *golden girdle* is understood chastity and spiritual sense.”²⁵

14 *And his head and hairs were white, etc.* “His ‘head’ is God the Father.²⁶ ‘Hairs,’ the saints or virtues of the saints. Because they are ‘white,’ they signify chastity. Through *wool* is understood charity, through *snow* chastity because it does not have the heat of vices. *Eyes*, the apostles or preachers, *as a flame of fire* because they were ignited by the Holy Spirit.”²⁷

15 “*Feet*, the apostles or holy preachers.²⁸ Through *fine brass* is understood fortitude. *In a furnace of fire*, in tribulation. *His voice as the voice of waters* is understood as the abundance of his teaching.”²⁹

16 *And in his right hand he had seven stars.* Here “‘right hand’ is the future life. The ‘seven stars’ are the angels of the seven churches. *And from his mouth proceeded a sharp two-edged sword*, the word of God³⁰ which judges concerning the soul and body.³¹ *His face as the sun*. The saints³² are understood.”³³

17 “*He placed his right hand upon me* is the help of Christ.”³⁴

Chapter 2

1 *The One, who holds the seven stars in his right hand, says these things.*
2 *I know your works and patience, and that you are not able to tolerate evil people, etc.* “I know that you labor and I see that you work and are patient: lest you think that I am to be delayed from you a long time.”³⁵

4 *But I have against you that you have left your first love.* **5** *Remember from where you have fallen.* “One who falls, falls from a height, and therefore he said ‘from where,’ since works of love should be practiced in every way up to the end, which is the first commandment.³⁶ And therefore, unless this is done, he threatened to *move the candlestick from its place*, that is, to disperse the people.”³⁷

6 *But you hate the deeds of the Nicolaitans.* “Nicolaus is interpreted ‘fool of the fainting church.’”³⁸

7 *To the one who overcomes I shall grant to eat of the tree of life.* “‘The tree of life’ is Christ.”³⁹

9 “Then he says: *I know* that you are poor and work, but you are rich. For, he knows that with him there are hidden⁴⁰ riches for such people and a removal [of riches] from the Jews, whom he denies *are Jews* but *are a synagogue of Satan*, since they are gathered together by Antichrist.⁴¹ 10 So that they might persevere and be faithful *even to death*, he says to them: 11 ‘And those who will have persevered even to death *will not be harmed by the second death*,’ that is, will not be tortured in hell.”⁴²

12 *And to the angel of the church at Pergamum write, etc. Two-edged sword,* judgment here and in the future.

13 *The throne of Satan*, “evil people.”⁴³ *You hold my name* through suffering.⁴⁴

14 For the *teaching of Balaam, who taught them to put a stumbling block before the eyes of the children of Israel*, that is, to fornicate. “For he [i.e. Balaam] gave this advice to the king of the Moabites, and thus had created a stumbling block for the people.⁴⁵ 15 ‘So also,’ he said, ‘among you, *you have* [such].”⁴⁶

17 *The one who overcomes I shall give to him of the hidden manna.* “[‘The hidden manna’] is immortality.”⁴⁷ Or [“the hidden manna” is] Christ, who said: *I am the living bread which came down from heaven* (John 6:51).⁴⁸ Or [“the hidden manna” is] the meaning, hidden from the ignorant, in the letter. *And I will give to him a white stone* (Lat. *calculus*). “A ‘calculus’ is a kind of very hard and round stone and very light in every part. So also is the divine word which is not able to be bent to the contradictions of heretics and all adversaries.”⁴⁹ *A new name*, God and man, God in the Trinity of persons. *Which no one knows except the one* who believed. In another way of interpreting it, the *stone* is a reward. *A new name on the stone*, that is, the notice of God forever.

18 *And to the angel of the church at Thyatira write.* Thyatira is interpreted “sacrifice.” *The Son of God* in front and behind *has eyes*, that is, saints, *like a flame*, that is, the flame of the Holy Spirit in witnesses.⁵⁰ *Feet*, likewise saints, because they are tested with various temptations.

20 *But I have against you that you tolerate the woman Jezebel, etc.* “*Jezebel* [is interpreted as meaning] ‘a flowing of blood’ or ‘dunghill,’”⁵¹ that is, heresies. *Is a prophetess*, that is, is a Christian.

22 *Behold, I shall cast her upon a bed*, that is, into great tribulation. *They commit adultery with her*, those who receive⁵² her teaching.

24 *But I say to you, the rest who are in Thyatira, etc.* “The rest,” that is, the good, *who have not known the deep things of Satan*, that is, did not make up teaching that is derived from Satan. *I shall not place upon you another burden*, that is, beyond the good which you have merited.

26 *The one who overcomes, I shall give to him authority over the nations*, that is, he will have [authority] in them. *And will rule them with instruction*. “Over the nations,” that is, [over] vices. *With an iron rod*, harsh correction. “The church has this authority in Christ.”⁵³

28 *And I shall give to him the morning star*. “The morning star is Christ”⁵⁴ or “the resurrection.”⁵⁵

Chapter 3

1 *And to the angel of the church at Sardis, write, etc. Seven spirits of God*. He indicates the magnitude of the power of God, or indeed the spirit of the knowledge of Christ, because in him is *the spirit of wisdom and understanding*, etc. (Isa 11:2). *Stars, churches. Name of Christians*.⁵⁶ *That you are alive*, that is, *you are dead in body*. For, “one is not dead in spirit except one who commits mortal sin.”⁵⁷

2 *Be vigilant and strengthen the things that remain*, that is, strengthen your works, and by your example strengthen others.

4 *But you have a few names in Sardis which have not soiled their garments, etc.* “A few names,” that is, of holy ones. “Which have not soiled their garments,” that is, after the washing of baptism. “Garments,” holiness or righteousness, as it is said: *They are clothed with righteousness* (Ps 132:9). *And they will walk with me in white garments*, that is, in the future “in chastity.”⁵⁸

5 *And I shall not erase his name from the book of life*, that is, from the memory of life. *And I shall confess*, that is: *One who will confess me, I shall also confess him* (Matt 10:32).

7 *And to the angel of the church at Philadelphia write: The One who is holy and true says these things*, “holy by nature; true since he alone is true.”⁵⁹ *Who holds the key of David*, that is, wisdom. *Who opens and no one shuts*, that is, [opens] paradise and shuts hell,⁶⁰ and *no one opens*. Christ opens the door of life to those knocking and the mysteries of the Scriptures to those believing. But to hypocrites he will say: *I do not know you* (Matt 25:12).⁶¹

8 *Behold, I have put before you an open door*, that is, Christ, or “the kingdom of heaven”⁶² [opened] either through faith or the Scripture. *Because you have little strength*, that is, the beginning of faith. Or [it refers to] the humility⁶³ of the church, which is “little” in the eyes of people. *And*

have kept my word, and have not denied my name, although you have been tempted. “Name,” that is, of Jesus Christ.

9 *Behold, I shall make them to come and bow down at your feet*, etc. He speaks about Jews, that they will bow down at the feet of the saints. Or those among the Christians *who say that they are Jews* are going to come as suppliants to the church and will “bow down at your feet,” that is, [at the feet of] the teachers and bishops of the church.

10 *And I shall keep you from the hour of testing*, that is, [the hour] of judgment or vengeance.

11 *Behold, I am coming quickly*, that is, to your aid. *Hold what you have, lest another receive your crown*, that is, your faith, or eternal life, or [...] ⁶⁴

12 *The one who overcomes I shall make him a pillar*, that is, by example, *in the temple of God*, that is, the church, or “eternal life.” ⁶⁵ A pillar suffers ⁶⁶ and shines. So also every teacher both suffers temptations and by example shines with good virtues. *He will not go outside any longer*, that is, because of his strength in faith. Or [he will not depart] from charity which *never fails* (1 Cor 13:8). *And I shall write upon him the name of my God and the name of the city of my God*, that is, “I,” Jesus Christ; [“the name,”] Christian; “the name of the city,” [the name] of the church, that is, “Ecclesiasticus.” *New*, that is, in baptism or fellowship in Christ. *Which comes down from heaven*. The church every day comes down from heaven, since it is born of God. ⁶⁷ *And my new name*, that is, the Son of Man, or Christian, ⁶⁸ not that it is new with respect to his being the Son of God, but new as Son of Man.

14 *And to the angel of the church at Laodicea write: The Amen, the faithful and true witness, who is the beginning*, etc., *says these things*. “Faithful witness,” Christ, “and true,” likewise [true] in his promise. *The beginning of the creation* of the church, just as he is [the beginning] of the creation of the world.

15 *I know your works, that you are neither cold nor hot*, that is, neither an unbeliever or pauper, nor a believer ⁶⁹ or an extremely rich person. In another way of interpreting it, “cold” [meaning] sluggish; ⁷⁰ “hot” [meaning] fervent in spirit. ⁷¹ Or “‘cold’ in sin; ‘hot’ in love.” ⁷²

16 *“Lukewarm, neither good nor bad,”* ⁷³ that is, receiving faith but not doing works. *I am going to spew you from my mouth*, that is, from my teaching, or from my memory, or from the bowels of my church. ⁷⁴

17 *You who say, “I am rich,”* etc., that is, you *say and do not do* (Matt 23:3). *And do not know that you are wretched*, that is, ignorant, [you are]

miserable, [pitied] by other wise persons. *And poor* in divine “virtues”⁷⁵ which are true riches. *And naked*, [lacking] the adornment of righteousness. *Blind* because you do not see your poverty or you have not anointed your eyes with the eye salve of God.⁷⁶

18 *I advise you to buy gold*, etc., that is, pure “understanding,”⁷⁷ or wisdom *tried* by the fire of the Holy Spirit. *That you may be rich*, that is, wise *in all knowledge* (1 Cor 1:5) and in good virtues. *And that you may be clothed with white garments*, that is, with “chastity and faith.”⁷⁸ *And anoint your eyes with eye salve*, that is, your inner *eyes of understanding* (Eph 1:18) with the divine commandment, or with divine understanding, *that you may see*, that is, you may believe and understand. For, we *anoint the eyes with eye salve* when we, for the purpose of perceiving the brightness of *the true light* (John 1:9), apply to the eye of our understanding⁷⁹ the medicine of good work.

20 *Behold, I stand at the door and knock*, etc. “God knocks” at the door of each one’s mind “in three ways: through compunction of the heart, through preaching, and through tribulation.”⁸⁰ *If anyone hears my voice*, etc., that is, believes the voice of my preaching, *I shall come in*, that is, he will be my temple.⁸¹ *I shall dine with him* in good virtues, *and he with me* in rewards in the future.

21 *The one who overcomes, I shall grant him to sit with me*, etc., that is, the one who conquers the devil or vices. *To sit on my throne*, that is, presently in the church and in the future, as it is written in that passage: *And you will sit upon twelve thrones judging* (Matt 19:28).⁸²

Chapter 4

1 *After these things I saw an open door in heaven*, without doubt “faith in the church”⁸³ in the nativity, passion, and resurrection of Christ. The “open door” indicates “Christ who was born and died,”⁸⁴ because *no one comes to the Father except through him* (John 14:6). “In heaven,” in the church, which deserved to be [called] heaven, “in that it is the dwelling place of God.”⁸⁵ *And the first voice*, that is, in that vision. *Come up here*, not [come up] from one place to another, but understand and believe.”⁸⁶ The church invites unbelievers to Christ, to baptism. Everyone “who believes that Christ was born and died ascends unto the heights of the church and having become spiritual, sees future things.”⁸⁷ For, just as the sound of a trumpet, so is that of preachers when those listening are invited to faith.

2 *Immediately I was in the spirit, and behold a throne had been set up in heaven*, etc. “I was in the spirit,” that is, I did not sense my body, but my spirit alone was outside my body “in a spiritual vision.”⁸⁸ “Throne,” the perfected church. “In heaven,” in faith. *One sitting*, Christ.

3 *Similar to jasper and sardonyx, and there was a rainbow around the throne similar in appearance to an emerald*. “Jasper’ has a color like the sea, ‘sardonyx’ like blood. Through jasper is understood baptism, through sardonyx martyrdom.”⁸⁹ “These comparisons apply to the church with which” Christ “is clothed.”⁹⁰ A “rainbow” is a bow in the sky. “The New Testament is understood where there are three colors: water and sulfur and fire. Through water, baptism is understood, through sulfur penance, and through fire martyrdom. Water came in the flood, sulfur upon Sodom, and fire at the judgment. The ‘rainbow around the throne’ is the gospel around the church. ‘Emerald’ has two colors similar to water and fire. It signifies baptism and martyrdom.”⁹¹

4 *And around the throne twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four elders*. Twenty signifies the Decalogue doubled; four signifies the four Gospels.⁹² In another way of interpreting [the “twenty-four elders”, they are] “the twelve apostles and the twelve patriarchs.”⁹³ Or “the seven patriarchs: Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, the twelve minor prophets, and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, and either Samuel or David. *And on their heads golden crowns*, that is, in the forefront of their minds future rewards.”⁹⁴ Or spiritual wisdom. Or the victory of immortality.⁹⁵ Or immortality. *Clothed in white garments*, that is, with the virtues of chastity.

5 *And from the throne proceeds lightning*, that is, “from the church [proceeds] miracles,”⁹⁶ and “*voices, preaching*”⁹⁷; *peals of thunder*, threatening,⁹⁸ as it is written: *Every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down* (Matt 7:19). *Seven lamps*, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁹ *Before the throne*, that is, around the church.

6 “*Sea of glass*, baptism, [*in the midst of the throne*], in the midst of the church.”¹⁰⁰ *Similar to crystal*, that is, with purity and splendor. *And in the midst of the throne four living creatures full of eyes in front and behind*, etc. [The “four living creatures” are] “the four Gospels. ‘Full of eyes in front’ [showing] how they fulfill [the prophecies of the Old Testament],¹⁰¹ ‘and behind,’ mindful of their sins. Again, ‘in front’ because they preach about the future judgment, ‘behind’ because they give testimony about the Old Testament.”¹⁰²

7 *And the first living creature was similar to a lion.* A lion is the king of all the beasts. He signifies those stronger in the faith. Through the *calf* [he signifies] the merciful in the church; through the *man*, the humble; and through the *eagle*, the heavenly [minded] who say with Paul: *Our association is in heaven* (Phil 3:20). Christ was a lion in the resurrection, a calf in the passion, a man in the Incarnation, and an eagle in the ascension.

8 “They have *six wings* because they preach the gospel through the six ages of the world, or they announce the six laws of the Old and New Testaments, that is, the law of nature, the law of the letter, and the law of the prophets, the law of the gospel, the law of the apostles, and ecclesiastical law. They have *eyes inside and out* because they illuminate the church inside and out with witnesses.”¹⁰³ [Or] “because they examine the secrets of hearts and see the things that are coming after.”¹⁰⁴ “*And they have no rest day and night*, that is, in prosperity and adversity,”¹⁰⁵ “they do not cease to praise the Lord”¹⁰⁶ “*saying: Holy, holy, holy.* Here Trinity and unity are understood,”¹⁰⁷ because they preach three persons and one God.

10 *And they cast their crowns before the throne saying: 11 Worthy is the Lord to receive glory,* etc. “They cast their crowns,’ that is, their praiseworthy qualities.”¹⁰⁸ “Whatever worthiness they have they attribute to God,”¹⁰⁹ not to themselves, that they may refer the glory of praise to him, from whom they acknowledge that they have received strength for the contest. What he says: *They were and are created*, that is, they were matter in the presence of God, were created by divine power, because through God they appeared openly “that they might be seen by us.”¹¹⁰

Chapter 5

1 *And I saw in the right hand of the one sitting a book written.* “In ‘a book written’ is understood the entire Holy Scripture.”¹¹¹ “In the right hand of the one sitting,” that is, in the power of God the Father or in the wisdom of Christ. The right hand of the Father is the Son. “*Inside*, the spiritual sense,”¹¹² that is, the New Testament. *Out*, the Old Testament history, “because it” too “feeds souls according to its historical meaning.”¹¹³ Moreover, “inside,” the New; “out,” the Old: he speaks of the New in the Old.¹¹⁴ *Sealed*, that is, closed, *with seven seals*, that is, concerning “the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.”¹¹⁵ Or, the conception of Christ from the Holy Spirit, the nativity, the passion, the burial, the resurrection, the ascension, and the session at the right hand of the Father.¹¹⁶ These are the seven seals which Christ opened. Or *a book written inside and out*: “Inside,” as was

said through John: *In the beginning was the Word* (John 1:1); “out,” as was said through Matthew: *Moreover, the generation of Christ was as follows* (Matt 1:1). Or “inside” through spiritual understanding; “out” through the simple literal interpretation which is still beneficial for the weak.

2 *And I saw a strong angel proclaiming: Who is worthy to open the book?* etc. Through the “strong angel” he designates a person highly skilled in the law and “a herald of the law.”¹¹⁷ Or [he designates] the order of teachers of the old and new law who preached earnestly the fulfillment of the will of God, but did not find anyone who was “worthy to open the book,” that is, [worthy] to begin and fulfill the will of the Father, *and to loosen its seals*, that is, to show the mysteries of the Scriptures or to show the Incarnation, passion, etc.

3 *And no one was able in heaven*, that is, [no] angel, *nor on earth*, that is, [no] person, *nor under the earth*, that is, [none] of the dead,¹¹⁸ or [none] of the guards of hell, *nor to look into*, that is, to understand the meaning of the New Testament.¹¹⁹

4 *And I wept much*, that is, the church of the New Testament had this response because of the overwhelming brightness of its grace. *To open*, that is, to do the things which Christ did. Or “the church” of the Old Testament [represented by John], “which was weighed down and burdened, ‘wept,’ yearning for her redemption.”¹²⁰

5 *And one of the elders says to me: Do not weep. Behold the lion has prevailed*, etc. “One of the elders”: The chorus of “the prophets consoled the church, announcing Christ”¹²¹ to it. “Behold the lion” that is, Christ, “has prevailed.” “A lion does not close his eyes in his sleep. In the same way Christ in the grave did not lose the distinction of his divinity.”¹²² *The root of David*, that is, he himself made David but by his divinity, and he is the root of all the saints. In another way of interpreting it, “the root of David” [is said] because a root grows from a tree, and a tree grows from the root, that is, Christ comes from David and David from Christ.

6 *And I saw in the midst of the throne and the four living creatures a Lamb standing as if slain, having seven horns and seven eyes*. “Standing” for eternity, “as if slain,” that is, not [slain] as [other] men, but he rose on the third day. The “seven horns and seven eyes” are the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.¹²³

7 *“And he took the book when he took on flesh.”*¹²⁴

8 *And when he had opened it, the four living creatures and the twenty four elders fell down before the Lamb, [each one] holding harps*, etc., that is, [having] one harmony and clean hearts, praising¹²⁵ God, singing with one

song of love. *Golden bowls*, pure minds, in which the doctrine of the truth is. *Full of prayer*.

9 *And they sing a new song*, that is: *My soul magnifies the Lord* (Luke 1:46) and they give thanks concerning those things which Jesus did for them, which no one did before. Or the “new song,” is the New Testament. [*Redeemed*. Mary was] a virgin both before giving birth and a virgin after the birth. “*From every tribe of the twelve tribes, and nation, from the Gentiles.*”¹²⁶

11 “*Thousands of thousands*, that is, an innumerable multitude.”¹²⁷ *The voice of the angels* is the voice of the confessors or of the teachers.

Chapter 6

1 *And I saw, when the Lamb had opened one of the seven seals, and I heard one of the four living creatures saying: Come 2 and see*. Christ opened the mystery of this book, because before it was closed. “Come and see” is said by way of invitation to faith. Therefore the *white horse* is the word, sent into the world, of preaching with the Holy Spirit. For the Lord says: *And this gospel will be preached in the whole world* (Matt 24:14).¹²⁸ Or the “white horse” is “the body of Christ.”¹²⁹ Or Christian people, since they are governed by Christ. Or the body of holy Mary, “white” because a virgin and Christ *sat* in her womb. *Had a bow in his hand*, that is, “preaching.”¹³⁰ Or vengeance, that is, threats, as he says: *I have not come to bring peace on the earth, but a sword* (Matt 10:34). Or the divine Scripture, from which testimonies are sent into the hearts of strangers. *A crown*, good works or immortality.

4 “The *red horse* contains a figure of martyrs; *the one who sat upon it*, Christ.”¹³¹

5 The *black horse*, “people of the left,”¹³² or “persecutors”¹³³ of the church. *The one who sat upon it*, that is, “the devil. *A scale in his hand* because the devil does not tempt except when he is permitted by God.”¹³⁴

6 “*A quart* is two pints.¹³⁵ They signify the Old and New Testaments. *Denarius* is understood as eternal life; *three quarts*, the faith of the Trinity. *Do not harm the wine and oil*, those who are strong in faith and those who have mercy¹³⁶ and spiritual anointing.”¹³⁷

8 “Through the *pale horse* hypocrites are understood.”¹³⁸ Or heretics. “*And hell followed him*, that is, he awaits the destruction of the souls of the impious.”¹³⁹ *And power over the four parts*¹⁴⁰ *of the earth was given to him, to kill*, “over those who are earthly-minded in the world.”¹⁴¹ Every plague is called a *sword*.

9 *And when he had opened the fifth seal I saw under the altar the souls of those killed on account of the word of God*, etc. The altar here is heaven¹⁴² or faith. Or [“under the altar” means] under the testimony and confession of the whole church, or upon the knowledge of God.

10 It is said that they cry out under the altar, as it is written: *The blood of your brother cries out to me from the earth* (Gen 4:10).¹⁴³ “*How long, Lord, do you not judge?*” etc. It is not that they are desirous of [their judgment], but desire that they amend themselves from sins or desire that Judgment Day would come quickly so that they may sin less.”¹⁴⁴

11 *And white robes were given to each of them*, etc. The saints receive only single robes when they will fully enjoy single beatitude; for at the end of the world they will receive two [robes] since then they will possess glory with beatitude of mind and of body, as it is written: *They will possess a double portion in their own land* (Isa 61:7).¹⁴⁵ For it was said to them that they should wait “for the solace of their bodies.”¹⁴⁶

12 *And I saw, when he had opened the sixth seal, and a great earthquake occurred, and the sun became black*, etc. In the sixth time the earth is moved, that is, in the time of Antichrist [there is a movement] of the faithful away from the faith. *The sun became black*, that is, “the saints in persecution. *The moon as blood*, similarly the saints”¹⁴⁷ in martyrdom.

13 *The stars will fall from heaven*. Souls [will fall] from their heavenly lifestyle. *Upon the earth*, into denial [of Christ]. *As a fig tree loses its figs*. In this way the church will throw off good virtues in the persecution. The great wind signifies persecution.¹⁴⁸

14 *And heaven receded*: Heaven is the Catholic Church, as it is written: *When you are persecuted in one city, flee to another* (Matt 10:23). *As a book rolled up*. In this way the church hides the mysteries of wisdom. *[Every] mountain and island was moved from their places*. He says that “when the last persecution occurs the church receded from its place.”¹⁴⁹

15 *The kings of the earth*, either “saints or sinners.”¹⁵⁰ *In caves*, that is, the saints hide themselves in the examples of Christ, or the reprobates hide themselves in the doctrines of the *mountains*, that is, [doctrines] of strong heretics.

Chapter 7

1 *After these things I saw four angels standing upon the four corners of the earth holding the four winds of the earth*. “After the sixth [seal] was described, he returns to the beginning and is going to speak briefly and

in another way”¹⁵¹ on that same seal. “‘Four corners of the earth,’ the four Gospels; ‘four winds,’ the four proclamations of the Gospels. *That the wind should not blow upon the earth*, that there should be no preaching upon the church, *nor upon the sea*, upon the heathen, *nor on any tree*, on no human.”¹⁵²

2 *And I saw another angel ascending from the east having the seal of the living God.* “This is Christ, the *angel of great counsel* (Isa 9:6).”¹⁵³ “From the east,” that is, from the fount of divinity. “Having the seal” of the cross¹⁵⁴ and resurrection “of the living God.” Because he is God no one else was able [to have] this seal except him.

4 *And I heard the number of the sealed, one hundred and forty-four thousand from every tribe of the sons of Israel.* “Through a hundred is understood every rational creature, through forty the rank of the penitent, through four the four Gospels. This is the perfect number of all the martyrs. ‘From every tribe of the sons of Israel,’ from all the confessors.”¹⁵⁵

5–8 “*The tribe of Judah*, because Christ was born from that tribe; for that reason it was placed first. He put twelve thousand from each tribe because of the number of the twelve apostles, not because there may be such a small number of the righteous. Here the tribe of Dan is not placed in the number because the Antichrist is born from that tribe.”¹⁵⁶

9 *After these things I saw a great multitude which no one was able to number*, “that he might show that these thousands” of saints “are without number,”¹⁵⁷ which *will be multiplied above the sands* (Ps 139:18). “*Clothed in white robes*. Chastity is understood. *Palm branches in their hands*, that is, rewards.”¹⁵⁸

10 *And they shouted with a loud voice: Salvation to our God*, etc. The “loud voice” is the fortitude of faith or the rank of perfection. “Salvation to God.” They give thanks, having been redeemed through baptism.

11 *And all the angels were standing around the throne and fell on their faces and worshipped God.* “On their faces” indicates foresight or “their humility and his [i.e. God’s] dignity.”¹⁵⁹

12 “*Blessing*. Every creature¹⁶⁰ blesses Him. *Glory* of the resurrection. All these things¹⁶¹ pertain in particular to the praise of Christ.”¹⁶²

13 *And one of the elders responded saying to me: These who are clothed*, etc. “One of the elders,’ whichever of them.”¹⁶³ For this reason John is asked [by the elder: *From where did they come?*] so that he [i.e. the elder] may be taught.”¹⁶⁴ God speaks to man in four ways: bodily as when through an angel; from the air through a voice expressed, as [shown in the passage]: *This is my Son* (Matt 3:17); through a vision when he awakens the mind in

compunction; or through himself as [shown in the passage]: *I will listen to what the Lord God may say to me* (Ps 85:8).¹⁶⁵

14 *And he said to me: These are those who have come out of great tribulation*, etc., that is, out of the distresses of Adam's sin and of vices and fornications and [sinful] appetite and murder. *And they washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb*, that is, through the baptism of Christ.¹⁶⁶

16 *They will not hunger*, that is: *I am the bread of life* (John 6:35).¹⁶⁷ *Nor thirst*, that is: *I am the fountain of living water* (Jer 2:13). "Neither will the sun beat down upon them. Here the sun is understood as tribulation. Heat, adversity of the flesh."¹⁶⁸

17 *Because the Lamb will rule over them*, etc. "He will lead them to the springs of the waters of life, that is, to the Father."¹⁶⁹ Or ["of the waters" means] of the Scriptures or [it refers to] baptism. *And God will wipe away every tear from their eyes*, that is, sorrow will be removed from them.

Chapter 8

1 *When he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven for about half an hour*, "because no one was going to preach in the church, 'half an hour,' because of the reign of Antichrist."¹⁷⁰ Or the church rests from persecution, which is a figure of her future rest. "In heaven," in the church. They rest when Elijah and Enoch will preach [through] the tribulations.

2 *And I saw seven angels standing before God*, etc. "The 'seven angels' are understood as the order of preachers, [who preach] through the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit."¹⁷¹ *Seven trumpets*. The threats of the commandments are firm, as where it is written: *Lift up your voice like a trumpet* (Isa 58:1).

3 "Another angel is understood as Christ. *Golden censer*, his body. *Much incense*, the prayers of the saints."¹⁷² *Upon the golden altar*, that is, in heaven.

4 *Smoke*, the good odor of virtues. *From the hand of the angel*, from the work or power of Christ.

5 *And the angel took the censer and filled it from the fire of the altar and cast it upon the earth*, etc. "From the fire of the altar" [means] "from majesty. 'Cast it upon the earth,' when he was born from" holy "Mary."¹⁷³ Or "upon the earth," [means] in the church as happened at Pentecost.¹⁷⁴ *A great earthquake*, that is, some [are moved] to belief, others to denial.

6 *And the seven angels who had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound the trumpets*. 7 *And the first trumpet sounded*, etc. The first angel

[signifies] the order of teachers from the apostles up to the end. “*Hail and fire mixed with blood*, the persecution of the” saints. “Through ‘hail’ [is signified] the coldness of unbelief, through ‘fire’ the heat of persecution. It also signifies the punishments” of the wicked “in the future.” *Was cast upon the earth*, etc., that is, “upon the church. When he says *a third part*, he shows those who fall away from the faith of the Trinity. *Third part of the earth* [means] those who have been perfected; *third part of the trees*, those who are imperfect.”¹⁷⁵ *Green grass*, that is, those who nurture the evils of the flesh. Or he speaks of “the flesh, fattened and full of excess.”¹⁷⁶

8 *And the second angel sounded a trumpet and, as it were, a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea*, etc. “Second angel,’ the second proclamation. ‘Great mountain,’ the devil. ‘Was cast into the sea,’ into all nations. *A third part [was turned into] blood*, into unbelief,”¹⁷⁷ since unbelievers cut the throats of others and themselves.

9 *Part of the fish*, that is, of the philosophers, *having life*, that is, reason. These cannot live if they do not consent to evil people.

10 *And the third angel sounded a trumpet and a great burning star fell from heaven*, etc. “Third angel,’ the third proclamation. ‘Great star,’ the devil.”¹⁷⁸ “Fell from heaven,” from the heavenly mindedness of the church, “burning” with wickedness. *The third part of the rivers*, of the kingdoms of the world; [he calls them] “rivers” because of their abundance. *Springs*, rulers, but lesser persons from whom evil writings flow.

11 *Into wormwood*, into bitter teaching. *And died*, in sins.

12 *And the fourth angel sounded a trumpet, and third part of the sun was stricken*. “Fourth angel,’ the fourth proclamation; the ‘sun’ and *moon* and *stars* are the diversity of believers.¹⁷⁹ *So that a third part of them would be darkened*, those who fall away. *The day*, believers; *night*,” also “those who are in sin.”¹⁸⁰

13 *And I saw and heard the sound of an eagle flying through the midst of heaven saying in a loud voice: Woe, woe, woe*, etc. “Eagle,” that is, Christ. “Through the midst of heaven,” that is, the church. Or “an eagle,” [signifies] the church strong in the virtue and rank of holy teachers. “Through the midst of heaven,” that is, through itself.¹⁸¹ It flies in the commandments while the three woes sound *on the earth*, that is, in the whole world.

Chapter 9

1 *And the fifth angel sounded a trumpet, and I saw that a star had fallen from heaven onto the earth*, etc. “Fifth angel,’ the fifth proclamation. *A great star*, the devil. *The key to the bottomless pit*, the key to hell.”¹⁸²

2 “*He opened the bottomless pit*, because through his deception sinners enter there. *Smoke*” of the pit “is understood as ignorance, *the sun*” darkened “as the church”—it is darkened in the time of evil—, and “*the air* as those who are heavenly in conduct.”¹⁸³

3 *Locusts*, false prophets or “heretics. *Scorpions*, demons.”¹⁸⁴

4 *And it was commanded that they not destroy the grass or any green thing*, commanded by the church and by God. “Grass,’ those who begin to believe.”¹⁸⁵ “Green” in good works. *Trees*, the better ones. *Excepting only the people*, that is, the heathen, *who do not have the seal of the cross*.¹⁸⁶

5 *And it was given to them*, that is, by Christ, *that they should not kill them* in body and soul, *but that they should torment five months*, that is, [torment with] slow punishments unto death. “Five months,’ those who are given unto worldly desires through the five senses of the body.”¹⁸⁷ [Or “five months,”] a part [is put] for the whole.¹⁸⁸

6 *In those days people will seek death*, that is, rest¹⁸⁹ from the persecution.

7 *And the appearance of the locusts was similar to horses prepared for battle*, etc. “Locusts,’ heretics or the disciples of Antichrist.”¹⁹⁰ “Horses,” persecutors. *Heads*, rulers¹⁹¹ and minds adorned with evil. *Crowns*, that is, decorated according to their own status. *Gold*, that is, [decorated] with beauty. *Like the faces of people*, that is, pretenses of compassion.¹⁹²

8 “Through their *hair* the will¹⁹³ is understood. *And their teeth like those of lions*,” that is, of heretics, “strong in evil.”¹⁹⁴

9 “*Breastplates*, their hardness. *Wings*, their teaching.”¹⁹⁵

10 “Their *tails*, perseverance in malice. Their *sting* is sin”¹⁹⁶ or harmful words. *Five months*, that is, attached to the bodily senses¹⁹⁷ or the years in which there was a persecution in the time of John.

11 *And they had over them a king*, that is, the devil. *Abaddon* signifies destruction.

13 *And the sixth angel sounded a trumpet*, etc. “Sixth angel,” the order of teachers. *From the horns*, that is, from the church.¹⁹⁸

14 *Loose the four angels*. They are called “four angels” because of the four persecutions. *Who are bound* when they are not permitted to persecute the church, but are loosed when they are permitted [to do so]. *River Euphrates*, evil people or “the persecution of Antichrist.”¹⁹⁹

15 “*For the hour, day, year, and month* signifies the reign of Antichrist.”²⁰⁰

16 *Thousands of thousands*, that is, an innumerable amount.

17 *Horses*, sinners or “heretics. *Those who were sitting upon them*, demons.”²⁰¹ *Fiery breastplates*, hearts hardened against the truth, “fiery” for the fire of evil desire. *Hyacinth* for the vapor of iniquity. *Brimstone*. This putrid fire indicates a long time in sin and vengeful judgment after death. *Heads*, that is, rulers,²⁰² *of horses*, that is, of persecutors. *Like the heads of lions*, that is, demons.

19 *For, the power of the horses is in their mouth and in their tails*, etc., that is, “in their excess and sin. *In their tails*. [Their tails] are understood as those who succeed them.”²⁰³

20 *And the rest of the people who were not killed in these plagues, nor repented*, etc. These are the heathen who did not repent of the worship of idols.

Chapter 10

1 *And I saw another strong angel coming down from heaven clothed with a cloud*, etc. “That ‘angel’ is understood as Christ,”²⁰⁴ “coming down from heaven,” because he always furnishes the church with aid. “Clothed with a cloud” when he took on flesh. *A rainbow*,” a sign of peace²⁰⁵ or “the preaching of the gospel. *Face*, majesty. *Feet*, the apostles.”²⁰⁶

2 *And “he had in his hand an open book*, etc., that is, the holy Scripture. *Right foot*, the apostles or, those who are strong in preaching. *Left foot*, those who are weaker in the church.”²⁰⁷ *Upon the sea*, which is dangerous. It signifies temptation. And his “right foot” is put upon it so that those who are placed in temptation may be strengthened. He indicates the stronger part of the church. *But his left upon the earth* signifies the weaker part of the church.²⁰⁸

3 “*Seven peals of thunder*, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit when he opened the Scripture.”²⁰⁹

4 *And I heard a voice from heaven saying: Seal up the things which the seven peals of thunder spoke and do not write them down*, etc. “because before Christ came, they were sealed, that is, obscure.”²¹⁰ *I was going to write*, that is, clearly. *Seal and do not write*, that is, conceal it so that it is not open except to the wise.

6 “*He swore that time will be no more* because afterward times will not be calculated.”²¹¹

8 “Here John is a figure of the human race. That *book* is understood as the entire holy Scripture.”²¹²

9 “*Take and eat it*, that is, that all things whatsoever that have been commanded²¹³ may be fulfilled in deed. Here *stomach* is understood as the will;²¹⁴ *bitter* when it is preached that we must leave behind all things for the sake of Christ;²¹⁵ *sweet* when eternal life is promised.”²¹⁶

11 *And he says to me: “You must prophesy again,”* that is, “fulfill in deed. Here John is a figure of all holy preachers.”²¹⁷

Chapter 11

1 “*There was given to me a reed*, the preaching of the gospel, *similar to a rod*, to a likeness of the preaching of Christ. *Measure the temple of God* for each one to preach in the church according to his own measure.²¹⁸ *The altar, faith.*”²¹⁹

2 “*The courtyard which is outside the temple*, heretics and philosophers and heathens who are outside the church. *The holy city*, the church.”²²⁰ *They will trample*, the heathen and those who agree with them [will trample] “*forty-two months*, that is, the time of Antichrist.”²²¹

3 *And I will send my two witnesses, and they will prophesy one thousand two hundred and forty days,*²²² etc. “Two witnesses, Elijah and Enoch.”²²³ “They will prophesy one thousand two hundred and forty days,” that is, the time of Antichrist. Through *sackcloth*, he indicates the work of repentance.

4 “Through the *olive trees* is understood spiritual unction, through the *candlesticks* preaching. *In the presence of the lord of the earth*, in the presence of Antichrist.”²²⁴

5 *And “fire*, the preaching”²²⁵ of the commandment, *will devour*, that is, will bring enemies to faith.

6 *The two have the power to shut up heaven, so that it should not rain.* “Heaven is shut that it should not rain, that is, that blessing should not” go out “from the church.”²²⁶ “*Ofturning the waters into blood* through martyrdom. *To strike them with every plague*, both spiritually and bodily.”²²⁷

7 *And when they will have finished their testimony, the beast which will ascend from the abyss will make war against them*, etc. Here the beast is the Antichrist or the false prophet²²⁸ and lying teachers. *From the abyss*, that is, from sinful people. *Will kill them* with bodily death.

8 *And their bodies [will lie] on the street of the city*, that is, without burial. “Here the *great city* is understood as the world.”²²⁹

9 *And they will see*, that is, they will rejoice, *throughout the three and a half days*, that is, throughout three hundred and fifty days;²³⁰ for in this number is contained the whole time from the birth of Christ up to the end of the world.

10 *And those dwelling on the earth will rejoice over them*. For as often as the righteous are afflicted, the unrighteous rejoice."²³¹ *These two prophets have tortured them*, that is, by their good deeds.

11 *After three-and-a-half days the spirit of life from God will enter into them*, "that is, on Judgment Day."²³²

12 When he says: *Come up here* to meet Christ,²³³ *they stood upon their feet*, either those who are faithful in preaching or the dead in the resurrection; and as Christ ascended in a cloud, so also his members.

13 *And in that hour a great earthquake occurred and a tenth part [of the city] fell*, etc. "Earthquake." [The earth quaked] through envy of the raising up of the faithful and their vision of the kingdom of God. "A tenth part," "that is, those who have been unfaithful through the ten senses of the body and soul. Those who remained in faith *gave glory to God*."²³⁴

15 *And the seventh angel sounded a trumpet, and voices were sounded in heaven*, etc. "The seventh angel" is "the seventh proclamation under Elijah and Enoch. 'Voices in heaven,'" are the prayers and gleaming of good works "in the church."²³⁵

19 *And the temple of God in heaven was opened, and the ark of the covenant was seen* "in heaven," that is, "the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, the souls of the saints."²³⁶ *Hail, persecution*."²³⁷

Chapter 12

1 *A great sign in heaven*. God who became man or the church in faith. *A woman clothed with the sun*, that is, the church [clothed] by Christ. *The moon under her feet*, that is, the lower church,²³⁸ through which the evangelical word of the ministers traverses. *And on her head*, that is, on the leaders of the church or on Christ, *a crown*, that is, the church which is prefigured²³⁹ in the twelve sons of Jacob or the "twelve apostles."²⁴⁰

2 *And "having [a child] in the womb"*, that is, "[having] Christ in her heart. *Giving birth* to some in the faith. *She is tormented* by persecutors."²⁴¹

3 *And another sign was seen in heaven, a great red dragon having seven heads and ten horns*, etc. "'Dragon,' the devil, 'red' through the shedding of blood. 'Seven heads,' by way of contrast" he pretends that he has "the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit."²⁴² "Ten horns,' ten kings under Antichrist"

or the Ten Commandments which he pretends to have. “*Seven diadems, iniquity*”;²⁴³ or the ornament of words.

4 *Tail*, false prophets or “the tail of the devil, Antichrist. Just as he dragged down a *third part* of the angels, so also he dragged down a multitude of unbelievers.”²⁴⁴ *And the dragon stood before the woman, so that when she had given birth he might devour her son.* “The woman” is the church about to give birth to saints in the faith of Christ or about to give birth to spiritual work.

5 *And she gave birth to a male child*, that is, Mary [gave birth] to Christ, *who will rule all nations with an iron rod. And her son was caught up to God* in the resurrection.

6 *And the woman fled*, that is, Mary [fled] into Egypt,²⁴⁵ or the church [fled] in the persecution of Antichrist. *Into a wilderness prepared by God, where there they nourish her for one thousand two hundred and sixty days*, that is, “from the birth of Christ up to the end of the world.”²⁴⁶

7 *And a battle took place in heaven, Michael and his angels fought with the dragon*, etc. “Michael,” Christ; “and his angels,” that is, the messengers of the church. *The dragon and his angels*, the devil and all the wicked.

8 *They did not prevail*, that is, they were not able.

9 *They were cast out through baptism*,²⁴⁷ *and a place for them was not found in heaven*, that is, in holy people.

10 *But salvation has come and peace and joy in the church since the accuser of brothers*, that is, of believers, *has been cast out.*

11 *And they overcame him through the blood of Christ* which was shed. *And they loved not their life even unto death*, that is, [loved not] their present life, since they completed [the number] of martyrs.

12 *Because of this, rejoice, heavens*, that is, saints. *Woe to the earth and sea, because the devil has come down to you.* The “earth” is people who do not attach themselves to heaven, but to the earth. “Sea” [is said] for the bitterness of sin.

13 *And after the dragon saw that he was cast onto the earth, he persecuted the woman.* 14 *And two wings were given to the woman, that she might fly into the desert.* “Two wings” are “the two laws or the two commandments of love. ‘Desert’ is understood spiritually as heaven.”²⁴⁸ *Time*, one year; *times*, two [years]; [*half a time*], half a year,²⁴⁹ that is, [in it] is contained the time from the birth of Christ up to the end.

15 *And the serpent spewed from his mouth after the woman water like a river*, etc. Through “water” persecution [is signified]; through “a river” the abundance of the persecution.²⁵⁰

16 *And the earth helped the woman*, that is, the prayer of the saints²⁵¹ or the body of Christ.²⁵² *And devoured* the teaching of heretics or the persecution.²⁵³

17 *And the dragon was angered at the woman and went out to make war with the rest of her offspring*, etc., that is, [made war] with the lesser saints.

Chapter 13

1 *And he stood upon the sand of the sea*, that is, over unbelievers. *And I saw a beast coming out of the sea*, that is, wicked people from the bitterness of sin. *Seven heads and ten horns* is understood as the body of the devil. *Diadems*, the evil ways of the devil. *Names of blasphemy*, that is, [the names] of God and divinity [used] by Antichrist.

2 *Was similar to a leopard*, “the variety of heretics. *Feet like those of a bear*, because of the strength²⁵⁴ of his malice. *His mouth like that of a lion*, that is, the teachers of heretics like the mouth of the devil, [teachers] to whom the devil gives power as a father to a son.

3 *And one of his heads*, those who practiced evil.

5 *And there was given to him a mouth speaking great blasphemies*, that is, evil teachings when he says that he is Christ.

8 *And they*, those who are earthly, *will worship him*.

10 *Here is the patience of the saints*, that is, not to worship the devil.

11 *And I saw another beast coming out of the land, and he had two horns similar to a lamb*, etc., “as it were, the servant of Antichrist had two kingdoms similar to the Lamb, as if in a likeness of Christ. *And he spoke as a dragon*, as Antichrist.”²⁵⁵

13 *So that he even made fire come down from heaven*, the fire of “fornication in sinners.”²⁵⁶

14 “*Saying to those who dwell on earth that they should make an image of the beast*, that is, an image of that heresy which will be before him.”²⁵⁷ “For, one who does the will of the devil will be similar to him.”²⁵⁸

15 “*And the image of the beast spoke*, since that heresy had been revived through him.”²⁵⁹

16 *And he will make everyone to have a mark on their hand*, etc. “Mark,” the name or confession²⁶⁰ of Antichrist.

18 *Here is wisdom* so that the teaching of Antichrist does not deceive anyone. *One who has understanding let him calculate the number of the beast*, that is, the number of Antichrist, through which letters

CHRIST is written²⁶¹ in Greek. And over them this number will be found DCLXVI.²⁶² Moreover “tietan,” the name of the sun, is fitting for the devil and for Antichrist because he *transforms himself into an angel of light* (2 Cor 11:14) and into *the sun of righteousness* (Mal 4:2).²⁶³

Chapter 14

1 *And I looked, and behold, a Lamb was standing on Mount Zion and with him one hundred and forty-four thousand*, etc. This is the number of the people of God. The “Lamb,” Christ; “on Mount,” in the church.

2 *A voice from heaven*, from the church, *as of many waters*, that is, of all of the preachers. *Of thunder*, of the gospel. *Of harpists*, that is, in unison.

3 *New song*, the confession of the faithful. *Four living creatures*, that is, the church follows Christ in example.

4 *They have not been defiled with women*, that is, with heretical teaching. *They are virgins*, with integrity. *They have been redeemed* by the blood of Christ.²⁶⁴ *First fruits in coming to God*.²⁶⁵

5 And in that time *in their mouths was found no lie* of heresy; *they are spotless*.

6 *I saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven*, etc. “Here the ‘angel’ is Christ” or the teachers of the church [flying] “through the church.”²⁶⁶

7 *Saying in a loud voice: Fear God*, etc.

8 *And another angel*, that is, “the first proclamation,” *said: Babylon has fallen*, that is, “the world,”²⁶⁷ or the soul [has fallen] into sin, or the body [has fallen] into judgment here and in the future.

13 *And I heard a voice from heaven saying: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord*, etc. Every time is included here.²⁶⁸ It is spoken to *the dead in Christ* (1 Thess 4:16) [who died] for the Lord. *That they may rest from their labors*, that is, from their persecutions. For good works follow good people, bad works follow bad people.

14 *And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud sitting one like the Son of Man*, etc. “The cloud is understood as the body of Christ,”²⁶⁹ or the holy church²⁷⁰ whitened through love. “The one sitting,” “Christ.”²⁷¹ *On his head a golden crown*, that is, “divinity”²⁷² in his kingship. *In his hand*, that is, in his power, *a sharp sickle*, “the preaching of the gospel.”²⁷³

15 *And another angel went out of the temple shouting: Thrust forth your sickle*, etc. “‘Another angel,’ another proclamation.”²⁷⁴ “Out of the

temple,” out of the church. “Sickle,” that is, retribution or the examination of the judgment. *Reap*, that is, cut down. *The harvest is ripe*, that is, the reprobates who are harvested are consumed in the judgment.

18 “*Another angel who has authority over the fire*” is “the order of preachers.”²⁷⁵ *Clusters of the vine*, the sins of earthly people, or things which grow from the vine, that is, from the earth.

19 It is the time of judgment.

20 “*The winepress was trodden outside the city*. According to an historical interpretation, when Christ suffered; according to the [spiritual] sense, sinners who will be trodden outside the church.”²⁷⁶ *And blood flowed up to the bridles*. Who are the bridles? The chiefs among sinners.²⁷⁷ Or “up to *the devil and his angels* (Matt 25:41).”²⁷⁸ “*For [a distance of] one thousand sixty stadia*” is “the magnitude of the judgment.”²⁷⁹

Chapter 15

1 *And I saw another sign in heaven, seven angels having seven plagues*, etc. “Seven angels,” teachers in the last [days]. “Seven last plagues,” that is, the spreading of the good news.²⁸⁰

2 *Mixed with the fire* of the Holy Spirit or [the fire of] judgment. “*Glassy sea*, baptism, mixed with the blood of martyrdom. *Holding the harps of God*, the praises of God.”²⁸¹

3 *Singing* “each Testament.”²⁸²

5 *And after these things I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of testimony in heaven was opened*, etc., that is, “the Scriptures [were opened] in the church.”²⁸³

6 “*Seven angels*, seven orders of preachers. *Clothed in a clean white stone*,²⁸⁴ Christ”²⁸⁵ or chastity. *Girt around the chest*, the higher girding of attachment to God.²⁸⁶ “*Golden girdles*, perfected minds.”²⁸⁷

7 *And one of the four living creatures gave to the seven angels seven golden bowls*, etc., when the church teaches another, and for every sermon he sends light from the four books of the Gospels. Or it is Christ taking the form of any of the four living creatures and teaching the church, when he becomes a lion and a man.²⁸⁸ “Seven bowls,” teachers full of teaching, who tell of the wrath of God here and in the future.

8 *The temple was filled with smoke*, that is, the church is filled with “profoundness of mystery or with compunction of heart.”²⁸⁹ *And no one was able to enter into the temple*, that is, [none] of the unfaithful.²⁹⁰

Chapter 16

1 *And I heard a loud voice saying: "Go and pour out the seven bowls,* etc. It is spoken to preachers."²⁹¹

2 "*Upon the earth,* that is, upon sinners."²⁹²

3 "*And onto the sea,* upon the heathen world."²⁹³

4 *And "upon the rivers,* upon heretics and persecutors." 8 *And "onto the sun,* that is, preaching and judgment on the church."²⁹⁴ 4 [Or] "rivers," wicked people. *Springs,* wicked rulers.

9 *They blasphemed the name of God.* "They who fell away"²⁹⁵ were given over *unto a reprobate mind* (Rom 1:28).

10 *Upon the throne of the beast,* that is, the people of the devil. *And they gnawed their tongues because of the pain.* [They gnawed] their teachers and they harmed [themselves]²⁹⁶ with the wounds of their sins.

12 *Upon the River Euphrates,* that is, evil people.²⁹⁷ *And dried up its water,* that is, extinguished the fury of the persecution. *That a way might be prepared for the kings,* namely, the saints "who enter into the church through faith."²⁹⁸ *From the east,* that is, from the passion of Christ.

13 *And I saw three unclean spirits [go forth] from the mouth of the dragon,* etc. Here the dragon is the devil or the Antichrist; three spirits on account of the aforementioned persons of the heretics.

14 *They go forth to the kings of the earth,* that is, the people of the kingdom of the devil [go forth] for war against the holy church.

15 *Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is the one who watches and guards his garments,* etc. He who is coming "is Christ."²⁹⁹ "The one who watches" is the righteous person [clothed] in his righteousness. The same "guards the garments" of chastity³⁰⁰ or of charity.

16 *He gathered them,* that is, the dragon [gathered them], *into the place Armageddon,* which is interpreted "perdition."

17 *Into the air,* that is, into insincere people. *And a voice went out of the temple,* that is, out of the church, *saying: It is done,* that is, the world has ended.

18 *And flashes of lightning occurred,* that is, spiritual virtues; *voices,* prayers; *peals of thunder,* gospel precepts; *an earthquake,* the persecution of Antichrist; *such,* that is, as I say, 19 that *the city,* "that is, the world,"³⁰¹ *was divided into three parts,* the Catholic Church and Judaism and the heathen world, which *fell,* because they did not stand in the truth. *And Babylon,* which is interpreted "confusion,"³⁰² *came into remembrance before God,* that it might receive judgment for her deeds.

20 *And every island fled and the mountains*, etc. “Island,” that is, the church, “fled” for fear of denying [Christ]. “The mountains,” that is, the saints,³⁰³ *were not found*, that is, [were not] overcome.³⁰⁴

21 *And great hail as a hundredweight came down from heaven*, that is, as heavy as the provocation of the wrath of God was, so also is the judgment.

Chapter 17

1 *And one of the seven angels came, saying: Come, I shall show you the condemnation of the harlot*, etc. “This ‘harlot’ is understood as the whole world,” or as the church of the heretics. “*Who is sitting upon water*, upon peoples.”³⁰⁵

2 *With whom the teachers of the heresies have fornicated. And were made drunk from the wine of her pleasure.*

3 *And in spirit*, that is, in good virtues, *he brought me into the desert* etc. *And I saw a woman*, etc. This “woman” is “the fornication of the whole world; the *beast* is Antichrist; *scarlet* on account of the blood of the martyrs.”³⁰⁶

4 *A chalice in her hand* is “the will of the flesh.”³⁰⁷ *Gold*, the ornament of the world. “The golden chalice in her hand,” that is, wisdom full of works, that is, hypocrisy, which *on the outside appears [righteous]* (Matt 23:28).³⁰⁸

8 *And the beast which you saw, was and is not*, that is, each wicked person or the Antichrist. “Was” in his own time or in the flesh. “And is not,” because he died or [it means] he is not God. *And is going to arise from the abyss*, that is, from wicked people, *and will go into destruction.*

9 *And here is a clue for the one who has wisdom: The seven heads are seven mountains*, etc. “Mountains,” wicked people. “Just as in the seven churches named in particular he spoke of the whole church, so also in the seven kings which he mentioned in particular he shows all the kings”³⁰⁹ of the Romans.

10 Accordingly he says “*five have fallen*, that is, Gaius Julius Caesar the first, the second, Augustus, under whom the Lord was born,³¹⁰ the third Tiberius under whom the Lord suffered, the fourth Claudius, under whom the famine in the Acts of the Apostles took place,³¹¹ the fifth Galba,³¹² *and another not yet come who will have a short time.*

11 *Who also is the eighth himself*, since he is the head,³¹³ *and is from the seventh*, that is, from that line, that is, one only in character.³¹⁴

12 *They have not yet received a kingdom*, that is, they did not unite until the Antichrist comes.

14 *And the Lamb will overcome them*, that is, in the judgment.

Chapter 18

1 *And after these things I saw another angel coming down from heaven*, etc. “This angel” is “Christ,”³¹⁵ about whom it is written: *In your light we shall see light* (Ps 36:9).

2 *And he shouted in a loud voice*, that is, in the strength of preaching: *Babylon has fallen*, that is, wicked people [have fallen] into judgment.

4 *And I heard another voice from heaven*, etc. Christ preaches to each one about the church: *Go out from her*, that is, from Babylon or from those who were in her. Or those who were not [in Babylon] should not enter into her.

5 *Because her sins have reached even to heaven*, that is, through their enormity³¹⁶ and through their conspicuity.

6 *Render to her*. This is a command to angels on behalf of all the saints whose injuries are vindicated. *Just as she has rendered* to the church and to God, as [was written]: *With what measure you have measured*, etc. (Matt 7:2).

7 *And because she says in her heart: I sit as a queen*. She glorified herself in human pleasures, 8 but in a short time,³¹⁷ that is, *in one day*, she will receive judgments.

9 *And the kings of the earth will mourn over her, when they see the smoke of her burning*. “Smoke of her burning,” that is, the sentence³¹⁸ of her ruin.

16 *Saying: Woe, woe, that great city, which was clothed in fine linen and adorned with gold*, etc. Through the “gold” is understood purity, through the *silver* clean speech, through the *precious stones* hard work, through the “fine linen” a clean body, and through *purple* martyrdom.

17 In this way also all the other things [in this section] relate to virtues, of which Babylon, that is, the world, became destitute *in one hour*.

20 *“Rejoice over her, you heaven,”* etc., that “is, the powers of heaven.”³¹⁹

23 *And the sound of the bridegroom and bride will not be heard in her*, that is, the jocular³²⁰ of the wicked.

24 *And in her the blood of all the saints—, from the blood of righteous Abel* (Matt 23:25).³²¹

Chapter 19

1 *After these things I heard a voice as [the sound] of many trumpets in heaven saying: Alleluia.* “Of trumpets,” that is, of announcements in the church. “Alleluia.” Praise the Lord because he will save us through the cross.

4 *And the twenty-four elders and four living creatures fell down and worshipped God,* that is, the entire church of the New and Old Testaments.

5 *And the small and great gave praise to God,* that is, the strong and weak, not in body but in authority.

7 *Because the marriage supper of the Lamb has come,* that is, [the marriage supper] of Christ and the church, who *has made herself ready* in faith.

9 *Blessed are those who have been invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb,* that is, to the body and blood of Christ and to the entire canonical Scripture of the New and Old Testaments.

11 *And I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse. And the one who sat upon it was called Faithful and True,* etc. “Recapitulation. ‘Heaven opened’ is ‘the church.’”³²² “White horse,” the body of Christ or Christian people. “The one who sat,” the divinity in Christ; or Christ in Christian people.

12 *His eyes, the saints.* “*On his head diadems,*” that is, many “rewards.”³²³

15 “*Sharp sword,* the word of God.”³²⁴ *That with it he may smite the nations spiritually.*³²⁵

16 “*A robe,* the saints. Through his *thigh* [is understood] those who are perfect in the married state.”³²⁶ **12** *Having a name written,* that is, God and man, *which no one knows except he himself,* Christ and his members which he put on, that is, the church.³²⁷

17 *And I saw an angel standing on the sun,* etc. “This angel is Christ.”³²⁸ *Standing on the sun,* that is, in the church. *On the sun he placed his tent* (Ps 19:4).³²⁹ “*Here birds* are understood as either saints who convert sinners through preaching, as if they became their food, or according to another sense, adversarial powers who take vengeance upon sinners.”³³⁰

19 *And I saw the beast and kings of the earth gathered to make war with him who was sitting on the horse,* etc. This “beast” is Antichrist or heretics. “Kings,” a wicked gathering. “To make war with him,” “that is, with Christ.”³³¹ “Who is sitting³³² on the horse,” that is, in Christian people.

20 *And the beast was seized, and those who worship them, and the two were cast alive into the lake of fire,* that is, the two, “Antichrist with sinners,”³³³ [were cast] into punishment in the future.

21 *And the rest were killed with the sword of the one sitting upon the horse*, that is, the sins in them were slain by the word of God which proceeds from his mouth.

Chapter 20

1 *And I saw an angel coming down from heaven holding the key of the abyss*, etc. This angel is “Christ in his first coming.”³³⁴ According to an historical understanding the “key of the abyss” is the constraining of all wicked people, or the power of binding the devil.

2 *And bound him for a thousand years*, that is, from the resurrection of Christ up to the end of the world.

3 *And cast him into the abyss*, that is, into hell or into the heathenism of the philosophers. *Up to [the time] when the thousand years are finished*, that is, up to the coming of the Antichrist. *After these things it is necessary for him to be loosed for a short time*, that is, for three and a half years.³³⁵

4 *And I saw thrones and they sat upon them*, etc. The “thrones” are the churches, “those sitting” are all who have the character of the [twenty]-four elders.³³⁶ *And judgment was given to them*, [power to judge] through wisdom. *And the souls of those beheaded*, that is, of the martyrs. *And they will reign with Christ for a thousand years*, the righteous, that is, up to Day of Judgment when they receive immortality.³³⁷

5 This “*first resurrection* is [the resurrection] of the righteous when they leave their body and go to rest.”³³⁸

6 But *the second death* is the future punishment.

7 *Satan will be loosed from his prison*, that is, from hell, *for a short time*, that is, “in the time of Antichrist.”³³⁹

8 *And he will deceive the nations, Gog and Magog*, that is, the peoples of the north. Through “Gog,” which is interpreted “covering,” he signifies wicked people who conceal the devil by sinning in secret. “Magog” signifies the one who commits sin in the open and reveals the devil who comes “out from the covering.”³⁴⁰

9 Coming down upon them is *fire from God*, that is, judgment. *It consumed them* for ever and ever.

11 *And I saw a great white throne and one sitting upon it*, etc. “Throne,” the gathering and choruses [of the saints] on the Day of Judgment. “One sitting,” Christ. *From whose face heaven and earth fled*, that is, [it fled] from the form in which it was, as in: *We look for a new heaven* (2 Pet 3:13).³⁴¹ *A place was not found*, that is, [the place] of their prior form.

12 “*The dead, great* on account of the multitude of their sins; *small*, those who sinned less. *Opened books*, the consciences³⁴² of sinners. *And another book was opened*, [the book] of divine knowledge, in which are the people who have been foreknown *before the foundation of the world* (1 Pet 1:20). *Which is the book of life*, that is, Christ.

13 *And the sea gave up its dead*. The whole earth is contained in the word “sea.” *And death and hell*, that is, the people of the devil. This will be manifested in the resurrection. [*Death and hell*] *gave up the dead*, that is, themselves.

Chapter 21

1 *And I saw a new heaven and a new earth*, etc., that is, 2 *the new Jerusalem*, which is the church,³⁴³ *prepared* in doctrine and in good virtues *for her husband*, that is, for Christ.

3 For she is *the tabernacle of God*.

6 *And he said to me: It is done. I am the Alpha and Omega*, etc. “It is done,” that is, it is consummated. “I am the Alpha,” that is, *the beginning* because I made the world; “and Omega,” that is, *the end*, because I shall bring it to an end, that is, I shall destroy it. *To one who thirsts I shall give from the fountain*, that is, from the gospel. *Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled* (Matt 5:6).

9 *And one of the seven angels came and spoke with me saying: 10 Come, I shall show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb*, etc. “Here the city, Jerusalem is understood for the church.”³⁴⁴

11 “*Its brilliance was similar to a precious stone*, that is, [similar] to Christ.”³⁴⁵

12 “*Great wall, faith*.”³⁴⁶

13 “*On the east three gates* signifies those who come from infancy to the faith of the Trinity. *On the north three gates*, those who come from the domain of the devil. *On the south three gates*, those who are in the prosperity of the world and are converted through penitence. *And on the west three gates*, those who come in old age.”³⁴⁷

15 *And the one who was speaking with me had a golden measuring reed*, etc. “With a ‘reed,’ according to a historical interpretation, [something] is both measured and written. ‘Golden reed’ is understood as the preaching³⁴⁸ of the gospel.

16 “*The city was laid out as a square*, that is, upon the four Gospels.”³⁴⁹ *And its length is as long as its width*, that is, it has the same width of charity

as it has length of life in the future, since *its length and width and height are equal*, “length of faith; width of charity; height of hope.”³⁵⁰

17 *And he measured its walls: one hundred and forty-four cubits in the measure of man, which is that of an angel.* This is the perfect number of the people of God.³⁵¹ *The measure of man*, that is, of Christ.³⁵²

18 *Indeed this city was pure gold like clear glass*, etc., that is, the holy church tried in virtues. “Through ‘gold’ [is understood] the meaning of the Scriptures; through ‘glass’ baptism.”³⁵³

19 *Adorned with every precious stone*, that is, every perfect work. *Its foundations were adorned with every precious stone: the first foundation jasper, the second sapphire, the third chalcedony*, etc. It is necessary in the church to observe the particular color of each of these stones, that is, to imitate in some way the examples of the apostles. One may learn the charity of one, and the humility of another, and the labor of another.³⁵⁴

21 *And the twelve gates are twelve pearls.* “Through the gates are understood the rulers of the churches.”³⁵⁵ [*Each gate in particular was*] of *one pearl*, that is, the apostles, in whom Christ, who is the precious pearl,³⁵⁶ dwells.³⁵⁷

22 *And I did not see a temple in it*, any earthly structure [as there is here],³⁵⁸ because the church is in God and God in the church,³⁵⁹ that is, [*the Lord is*] *its temple*, because Christ is *all in all* (1 Cor 15:28).

21 “*The street of the city* is understood as the breadth of the commandments.”³⁶⁰

23 *And the city has no need of the sun*, that is, in the future.

24 *And the kings of the earth*, that is, the saints, *will bring their glory*, that is, love and humility and labor of prayer.

25 *And its gates will not be closed*, that is, [closed] by wickedness, *and there will be no night there*, that is, [no night] of ignorance.

Chapter 22

1 *And he showed me a river of the water of life*, etc., that is, “the divine Scriptures”³⁶¹ or baptism³⁶² or wisdom.

2 *Its street*, “the church.” *And “on each side of the river the tree of life,”* that is, “Christ in the New and Old Testaments. *Bearing fruits throughout each of the months,*” that is, “through the teaching of the twelve apostles up to the end of the world. Through *the leaves* are understood the farthest preachers.”³⁶³

3 *And there will be no more curse*, that is, the devil or sin.

5 *And there will be no more night*, that is, the darkness of sin or of “ignorance.”³⁶⁴

6 *And the Lord God of the prophets sent his angel*, that is, Christ in the form of an angel, *to show his servants what must take place quickly*, that is, in the judgment or in the New Testament [age] from the nativity of Christ up to the end of the world.

10 *And he said to me: Do not seal up the words of the prophecy of this book; for, the time is near*, etc. *Do not seal up*, “that is, do not conceal”³⁶⁵ from believers the things which have been closed to unbelievers.³⁶⁶ *The time is near*, that is, [the time] of judgment.

11 *“One who harms, let him harm still; and one who is in filth, let him be filthy still.* He speaks of the Jews, of heretics, or of the Antichrist, not in the imperative mood, but declaring their unfaithfulness.”³⁶⁷

14 *Blessed are they who wash their robes, that their power may be in the tree of life, and they may enter through the gates into the city.* “Robes,” every clothing of truth. Or they wash “their bodies through baptism, through chastity, through martyrdom, or through penance. *That they may have the right to the tree of life*,” that is, “that they may have a part with Christ. *And may enter through the gates into the city*,”³⁶⁸ that is, through the apostles³⁶⁹ or “through the faith of the Trinity into the” heavenly “church.”³⁷⁰

15 *“Outside are dogs,”* that is, “Jews, *and sorcerers*,” that is, “heretics, *and worshippers of idols*,” heathen, *and everyone who loves and practices falsehood*, that is, all sinners.”³⁷¹

16 *I, Jesus, have sent my angel*, “Christ sent his angel, that is, John.”³⁷² *I am the root*, according to divinity, *and offspring of David*, since from David he assumed his humanity.³⁷³ *Bright star*, Christ in the resurrection.”³⁷⁴

17 *“And the Spirit and the bride say: Come!* The church desires through the Holy Spirit that Christ comes for the judgment.”³⁷⁵ *And the one who hears, let him say: Come!* The preacher thinks this to himself with an internal voice. Also, by proclaiming it he draws others by that which he repeats.³⁷⁶ *The one who thirsts, let him come and receive the water of life freely*, that is, baptism”³⁷⁷ or wisdom.

18 *I testify to everyone hearing: If anyone adds to these things*, etc., “that is, heretics who have an incorrect understanding”³⁷⁸ and who add other chapters **19** and who take away others.

20 *The one who bears witness to those things says these things: Surely I am coming quickly. Amen, come Lord Jesus!* **21** *The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Come quickly!* that is,³⁷⁹ for the judgment. And John

or the Catholic Church responds desiring retribution and says to Christ, her head: *Come!*

NOTES

¹ Cf. Eucherius of Lyons, *Instructions*, 2, CSEL 31:161; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Prol., CCSL 92:6; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 6.2, 49, PL 82:235.

² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:1, CCSL 107:196.

³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, Intro., CCSL 107:195. Cf. Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Acts, PL 23:848; CCSL 72:146.

⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:2, CCSL 107:196.

⁵ Lat. *in opera* or “in work.”

⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:3, CCSL 107:196.

⁷ Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Apoc., PL 23:902; CCSL 72:159.

⁸ Cf. Isa 11:2–3; Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:4, CSEL 49:16–17.

⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:4, CCSL 107:197.

¹⁰ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:5, CSEL 49:18–19.

¹¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:4–5, CCSL 107:197–98.

¹² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:6, CCSL 107:198. Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:6, CSEL 49:18–19.

¹³ Cf. Acts 1:9.

¹⁴ Cf. Matt 24:29–30.

¹⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:7, CCSL 107:198–99.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:9, CCSL 107:199. Cf. Jerome, *Against Helvidius*, 16, NPNF, 2nd ser., 6:341; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 9.6, 8.

¹⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:9, CCSL 107:199.

¹⁸ Cf. Ambrose Autpert, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, Preface & on Rev 1:9, who saw the island as designating “the persecutions of the church” and “the tribulations of persecutions,” CCMM 27:16, 58.

¹⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:10, CCSL 107:199–200. Cf. Isa 58:1.

²⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:11, CCSL 107:200; Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Apoc., PL 23:902–3; CCSL 72:160.

²¹ Cf. Isa 11:2–3.

²² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:12, CCSL 107:200.

²³ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:13, CSEL 49:20–21.

²⁴ Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:13b, CSEL 49:22–23.

²⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:13, CCSL 107:201.

²⁶ Cf. 1 Cor 11:3; Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:14, CSEL 49:20–21.

²⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:14, CCSL 107:201.

²⁸ Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:15a, CSEL 49:26–27.

²⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:15, CCSL 107:201–02.

³⁰ Cf. Eph 6:17.

³¹ Cf. Heb 4:12.

³² Cf. Matt 13:43; Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:16, CCSL 107A:109.

³³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:16, CCSL 107:202.

³⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:17, CCSL 107:202.

³⁵ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:2–3, CSEL 49:32–33.

³⁶ Cf. Matt. 22:36–40; Mark 12:28–31.

³⁷ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:4–5, CSEL 49:34–35.

³⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 2:6, CCSL 107:202. Cf. Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Apoc., PL 23:858; CCSL 72:160.

³⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 2:7, CCSL 107:202.

⁴⁰ Cf. Col 3:3.

⁴¹ It was a common belief in early Christianity that Antichrist, as false Messiah, will gather the Jewish people out of the nations back to their homeland. Cf. Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel*, 4.49,5; Pseudo-Hippolytus, *On the End of the World*, ANF 5:247; Augustine, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, on Ps 106, NPNF, 1st ser., 8:532.

⁴² Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:9–11, CSEL 49:34–37.

⁴³ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:12–13, CCSL 107A:118.

⁴⁴ Lat. *patientiam* (patience), which derives from the verb *pati* “to suffer.”

⁴⁵ Cf. Num 25:1–2.

⁴⁶ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:14–15, CSEL 49:36–39.

⁴⁷ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:17, CSEL 49:38–39.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:17, CCSL 107A:119.

⁴⁹ Jerome, *Epistle 18b*, PL 22:373.

⁵⁰ Cf. Acts 1:8; 2:3.

⁵¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 2:20, CCSL 107:203. Cf. Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Apoc., PL 23:857; CCSL 72:160.

⁵² Lat. *discunt* or “learn.”

⁵³ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:25–28, CCSL 107A:123.

⁵⁴ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:28, CCSL 107A:123.

⁵⁵ Pseudo Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 2:28, CCSL 107:203. Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 2:28, CSEL 49:38–39; Primasius of Hadrumetum (*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, CCSL 92:36), like Theodulf, gave both of these interpretations of the morning star.

⁵⁶ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 3:12, CCSL 107A:127.

⁵⁷ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 3:1, CCSL 107A:124.

⁵⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:4, CCSL 107:203.

⁵⁹ Cf. John 14:6.

⁶⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:7, CCSL 107:203.

⁶¹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 3:7, CCSL 107A:125.

⁶² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:8, CCSL 107:203.

⁶³ Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:8, CCSL 107:203.

⁶⁴ Gryson’s edition says that there were words here that at first were omitted, but supplied in the margin. However, later they were partly cut off.

⁶⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:12, CCSL 107:203.

⁶⁶ Apparently from the weight it supports.

⁶⁷ Cf. John 1:13.

⁶⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 3:12, CCSL 107A:127–28.

⁶⁹ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 3:12, CSEL 49:42–43: *neque incredibiles neque fideles* “neither unbelievers nor believers.”

⁷⁰ Lat. *gentilis* is used here as the opposite of *ardens spiritu* “fervent in spirit.”

⁷¹ Cf. Rom 12:11.

⁷² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:15, CCSL 107:203. Cf. 1 Pet 4:8.

⁷³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:16, CCSL 107:203.

⁷⁴ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 3:16, CCSL 107A:128.

⁷⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:17, CCSL 107:203.

⁷⁶ Cf. Rev 3:18.

⁷⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:18, CCSL 107:203.

⁷⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:18, CCSL 107:203.

⁷⁹ Cf. Eph 1:18.

⁸⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 3:20, CCSL 107:204.

⁸¹ Cf. 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16.

⁸² Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral Teaching on Job*, 26.28, CCSL 143:1307–8.

⁸³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:204.

⁸⁴ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107A:129.

⁸⁵ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107A:130; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 92:46.

⁸⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:204.

⁸⁷ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:2, CCSL 107A:130. For “having become spiritual” Theodulf has *affectus spirituales* which Gryson noted is a corrupt reading of Tyconius. The best reading of Tyconius, he said, is found in Bede: *effectus spiritualis*.

⁸⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:2, CCSL 107A:204.

⁸⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 107A:204.

⁹⁰ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 107A:130.

⁹¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 107A:204–05.

⁹² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107A:205.

⁹³ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:7–8. CSEL 49:50–51.

⁹⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107A:205.

⁹⁵ Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:10. CSEL 49:58–61.

⁹⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107A:205. The interpretation of ‘lightning’ as miracles is not dependent upon Victorinus-Jerome. It appears on Rev 4:5 in Caesarius of Arles (*Exposition of the Apocalypse of Saint John*, Homily 3, trans. Weinrich, 69), Primasius of Hadrumetum (*Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 92:48), and Pseudo-Jerome, all of which used Tyconius as a source. Caesarius and Primasius were independent witnesses of the text of Tyconius’s commentary. This suggests that the comment was in Tyconius. Confirming this are Tyconius’s interpretations of lightning as “miracles” (*virtutes*) in his comments on Rev 8:5 and 11:19 (CCSL 107A:153, 174). However, it does not appear in Gryson’s edition of Tyconius’s *Exposition of the Apocalypse* on Rev 4:5 (CCSL 107A:131). Although the interpretation of lightning as miracles appears in Eucherius of Lyons, *Formulas* (CSEL 31:9), the source for the comment here and in the other aforementioned Apocalypse commentaries is most likely Tyconius, as shown above.

⁹⁷ On the “voices” as preaching, see Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5. CSEL 49:56–57; and Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 8:5 and 11:19, CCSL 107A:153, 174.

⁹⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107A:205. On the peals of thunders as threats, see Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5, CSEL 49:56–57.

⁹⁹ Cf. Isa 11:2.

¹⁰⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:205. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107A:131.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5. CSEL 49:59.

¹⁰² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:206.

¹⁰³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 107:206.

¹⁰⁴ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:8, CSEL 49:54–55. From Victorinus-Jerome it is clear that where Theodulf has *vitant* (“avoid”), it should read *vident* (“see”).

¹⁰⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:8. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 107A:133.

¹⁰⁶ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 92:57.

¹⁰⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 107:206.

¹⁰⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:10, CCSL 107:206.

¹⁰⁹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:10, CCSL 107A:133.

¹¹⁰ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:11, CCSL 107A:133 who has: “They were [created] according to [the will of] God, by whom all things were possessed before they came to be. Moreover they were created so that they might be seen by us, as Moses says: *Is he himself not your father, who possessed you, and made you and created you?* (Deut 32:6) ...”

¹¹¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:1, CCSL 107:207.

¹¹² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:1, CCSL 107:207.

¹¹³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:1, CCSL 107:207.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:1, CCSL 107A:133.

¹¹⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:1, CCSL 107A:207. Cf. Isa 11:2.

¹¹⁶ For the interpretation, previous to Theodulf, of the opening of the seven seals as seven events in the life of Christ, see Hilary of Poitiers, *Commentary upon the Psalms*, Prologue, CSEL 22:7; Apringius of Beja, *Explanation of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:1, in Francis X. Gumerlock, *The Seven Seals of the Apocalypse: Medieval Texts in Translation* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009), 27; pseudo-Alcuin, *On the Seven Seals*, in Gumerlock, *Seven Seals*, 30–32; and Reference Bible, *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 5:1, in Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries on the Apocalypse* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2016), 32–33. The source of Theodulf’s comment is the lost commentary he used.

¹¹⁷ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:2, CCSL 92:82.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:3, CCSL 107A:134.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:3, CCSL 107A:134.

¹²⁰ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:4, CCSL 107A:134.

¹²¹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:4, CCSL 107A:134; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:4, CCSL 92:85.

¹²² Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel*, 1.4, 1, PL 76:815.

¹²³ Cf. Isa 11:2.

¹²⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:7, CCSL 107:207.

¹²⁵ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:8, CCSL 107A:134.

¹²⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:9, CCSL 107:207.

¹²⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 5:9, 11, CCSL 107:207. For “innumerable,” cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 5:11, CCSL 107A:136.

¹²⁸ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:1–2, CSEL 49:68–69.

¹²⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:2, CCSL 107:208.

¹³⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:2, CCSL 107:208.

¹³¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:4, CCSL 107:208.

¹³² Lat. *sinister* meaning “evil.” In the wisdom literature of the Scripture, “left” has a negative connotation. For example, Eccl 10:2: “The heart of the wise directs him toward the right, but the heart of a fool to the left,” Prov 4:27 (LXX): “The Lord knows the paths which are on the right, but those on the left are perverse.” Also, in the parable of the judgment seat (Matt 25:31–46), those invited by the Lord to his heavenly kingdom are on his right, but the reprobate on the left. Tyconius (*Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:4, CCSL 107A:138) has “the people of the left” as an interpretation of the *red* horse.

¹³³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:5, CCSL 107:208.

¹³⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:5, CCSL 107:208. Cf. Job 1:12.

¹³⁵ Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, 16.26.

¹³⁶ Cf. Eucherius of Lyons, *Formulas*, 7, CSEL 31:39.

¹³⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:6, CCSL 107:208.

¹³⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:8, CCSL 107:208.

¹³⁹ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:8, CSEL 49:72–73.

¹⁴⁰ Other ancient Latin versions of Scripture, such as those of Tyconius and Primasius of Hadrumetum, have a “fourth part”.

¹⁴¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:8, CCSL 107:209.

¹⁴² Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:9, CSEL 49:72–73.

¹⁴³ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:9, CCSL 107A:142.

¹⁴⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:10, CCSL 107:209.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral Teaching on Job*, 35.14, 25, PL 76:762–63; 79:1111–12.

¹⁴⁶ Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:10, CSEL 49:74–75.

¹⁴⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:12, CCSL 107:209.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:13, CCSL 107A:142.

¹⁴⁹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 6:14, CCSL 107A:143.

¹⁵⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 6:15, CCSL 107:209–10.

¹⁵¹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev 6:17, CCSL 107A:146.

¹⁵² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:1, CCSL 107:210.

¹⁵³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:2, CCSL 107:210.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:2, CCSL 107:211.

¹⁵⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:4, CCSL 107:211.

¹⁵⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:5, CCSL 107:211.

¹⁵⁷ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 7:9–10, CCSL 107A:149.

¹⁵⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:9, CCSL 107:211–12.

¹⁵⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:11, CCSL 107:212.

¹⁶⁰ Lat. *omnis creatura* or “all creation.”

¹⁶¹ That is, all the things listed in Rev 7:12: blessing, glory, wisdom, thanksgiving, honor, power, and might.

¹⁶² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:12, CCSL 107:212.

¹⁶³ Meaning, the specific apostle or patriarch, such as Peter or Moses, is not mentioned. See his comments on the twenty-four elders on Rev 4:4.

¹⁶⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:13, CCSL 107:212.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Augustine, *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis*, 12.6–7, 24–25; Isidore, *Etymologies*, 7, 8; Anonymous, *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles*, on James 2:8, CCSL 108B:12; pseudo-Hilary, *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles*, on James 2:8, CCSL 108B:64.

¹⁶⁶ Meaning Christian baptism.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 7:16, CCSL 107A:150.

¹⁶⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:16, CCSL 107:212.

¹⁶⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 7:17, CCSL 107:212.

¹⁷⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:1, CCSL 107:212.

¹⁷¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:2, CCSL 107:212–13. Cf. Isa 11:2.

¹⁷² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:3, CCSL 107:213, whose comments are dependent upon Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 8:3, CCSL 107A:152–53.

¹⁷³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:5, CCSL 107:213.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Acts 2.

¹⁷⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:7, CCSL 107:213.

¹⁷⁶ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 8:7, CCSL 107A:154.

¹⁷⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:8, CCSL 107:213–14.

¹⁷⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:10, CCSL 107:214.

¹⁷⁹ The idea is that believers vary as the heavenly bodies display varying brightness. Cf. Matt 13:23; 1 Cor 15:41.

¹⁸⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 8:12, CCSL 107:214.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 8:13, CCSL 107A:156, who says that the church moves about in the midst of its own members.

¹⁸² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:1, CCSL 107:214. On the abyss as hell, see Eucherius of Lyons, *Formulas*, 7, CSEL 31:42.

¹⁸³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:2, CCSL 107:214.

¹⁸⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:3, CCSL 107:214.

¹⁸⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:4, CCSL 107:215.

¹⁸⁶ Meaning the sign of the cross conferred in baptism.

¹⁸⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:5, CCSL 107:215.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:5, CCSL 107A:157.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:6, CCSL 107A:158.

¹⁹⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:7, CCSL 107:215.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:18, CCSL 107A:162.

¹⁹² Lat. *sectae humilitatis*. However, Gryson conjectured that it should read *fictae humanitatis*, which I have used for the translation.

¹⁹³ Lat. *voluntas* or perhaps “desire.” Cf. 2 Tim 3:6; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:7, CCSL 92:150.

¹⁹⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:8, CCSL 107:215.

¹⁹⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:9, CCSL 107:215.

¹⁹⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:10, CCSL 107:215.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:5, CCSL 107:215; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:6, CCSL 92:149.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:13–14, CCSL 107A:160.

¹⁹⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:14, CCSL 107:215.

²⁰⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:15, CCSL 107:215.

²⁰¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:17, CCSL 107:215.

²⁰² Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 9:18, CCSL 107A:162.

²⁰³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 9:19, CCSL 107:216.

²⁰⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:1, CCSL 107:216.

²⁰⁵ Lat. *federis* or a “pact” or perhaps a “covenant.”

²⁰⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:1, CCSL 107:216.

²⁰⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:1, 2.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 10:2, CCSL 107A:164.

²⁰⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:3, CCSL 107:216.

²¹⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:4, CCSL 107:216.

²¹¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:6, CCSL 107:216.

²¹² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:8, CCSL 107:216.

²¹³ Cf. Matt 28:20.

²¹⁴ Lat. *voluntas* or “desire.”

²¹⁵ Cf. Luke 18:29–30.

²¹⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:9, CCSL 107:216–17.

²¹⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 10:11; 11:1, CCSL 107:217.

²¹⁸ Cf. 2 Cor 10:13.

²¹⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:1, CCSL 107:217.

²²⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:2, CCSL 107:217.

²²¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev

11:2, CCSL 107:217.

²²² The Vulgate, agreeing with the Greek, reads “one thousand two hundred and sixty days” in Rev 11:3.

²²³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:3, CCSL 107:217.

²²⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:4, CCSL 107:217.

²²⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:5, CCSL 107:217.

²²⁶ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 11:6, CCSL 107A:168. The edition of Theodulf has *discedat* “go out,” but the edition of Tyconius has *descendat* or “descend” which is probably a better reading.

²²⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:6, CCSL 107:217–18.

²²⁸ Cf. Rev 13:11–12.

²²⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:8, CCSL 107:218.

²³⁰ Tyconius, in his *Book of Rules*, 5, wrote “Sometimes, in virtue of the number ten, a day represents 100 days, as in the Apocalypse: ‘1260 days’”; William S. Babcock, trans., *Tyconius: The Book of Rules* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989), 99. However, in his *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 11:9, Tyconius interpreted these three and a half days as “three and a half years and six months” (CCSL 107A:170).

²³¹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 11:10, CCSL 107A:170.

²³² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:11, CCSL 107:218.

²³³ Cf. 1 Thess 4:17.

²³⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:13, CCSL 107:218.

²³⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:15, CCSL 107:218.

²³⁶ Cf. Heb 12:22–23.

²³⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 11:19, CCSL 107:218.

²³⁸ Lat. *ecclesia minor*. Cf. Gen 1:16 where the moon is called the “lesser light.”

²³⁹ Lat. *nuntiatur*, literally “is announced.”

²⁴⁰ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:1, CCSL 107A:175.

²⁴¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 12:2, CCSL 107:218.

²⁴² Cf. Isa 11:2.

²⁴³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 12:3, CCSL 107:218–19.

²⁴⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 12:4, CCSL 107:219.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Matt 2:14.

²⁴⁶ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:5–6, CCSL 107A:178.

²⁴⁷ This refers to the practice of exorcism in the sacrament of baptism.

²⁴⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 12:6, 14, CCSL 107:219. The two laws are the Mosaic law and the law of Christ. The two commandments of love, based upon Luke 10:27, are to love God with one's whole heart and to love one's neighbor. Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:14, CCSL 92:187.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, on Dan 7:25, trans. Archer, 81: "‘Time’ is equivalent to a ‘year.’" The word ‘times’ according to the idiom of the Hebrews ... represents ‘two years.’ ... The half a year signifies ‘six months.’"; Bede, *Exposition on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:14, CCSL 121A:397, trans. Weinrich, 152; Theodulf of Orleans, *Poem 18: That the Wicked Often Suffer Evil, and Concerning the Time of Antichrist*, lines 35–36, trans. Andersson, 55: "Signifying a year by ‘time’ and two years by ‘times’ in the plural, And, by a ‘half time’ he teaches another six months".

²⁵⁰ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:15–16, CCSL 107A:181.

²⁵¹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 12:16, CCSL 107A:181.

²⁵² Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:16, CCSL 92:189: "the human nature in Christ"; Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:16, trans. Weinrich, 152: "the holy flesh of the Lord."

²⁵³ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 12:15–16, CCSL 107A:181.

²⁵⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 13:2, CCSL 107:219.

²⁵⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 13:11, CCSL 107:219–20.

²⁵⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 13:13, CCSL 107:220.

²⁵⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 13:14, CCSL 107:220.

²⁵⁸ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 13:13–15, CCSL 107A:187.

²⁵⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 13:15, CCSL 107:220.

²⁶⁰ Lat. *confessio*. Bede's *Exposition of the Apocalypse* (CCSL 121A:413) and the Reference Bible's *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John* (CCSL 107:279) refer to a *symbolum* or creed of Antichrist, reflecting this early medieval belief that Antichrist will institute a creed or confession of faith received by his disciples, as Christians have the Apostles' or Nicene Creed.

²⁶¹ Lat. *dicitur* literally "is said."

²⁶² Or six hundred and sixty-six.

²⁶³ For the number of the beast formed from the word “tietan,” see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 5.30.3, ANF 1:559; Hippolytus, *On Christ and the Antichrist*, 50, ANF 5:215; Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 13:18, CSEL 49:124–25; *Excerpta de monogramma*, CCSL 107:151; and Reference Bible, *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 13:18, CCSL 107:277.

²⁶⁴ Cf. 1 Pet 1:18–19; Rev 5:9.

²⁶⁵ For the interpretation that the 144,000 were the Jews who first believed in Christ (cf. Acts 21:20), see the first fragment of Hippolytus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (fragments), in Pierre Prigent and Ralph Stehly, “Les fragments du De Apocalypsi d’Hippolyte,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 29 (1973): 313–33 at 320; and Ecumenius, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 7:4, trans. Weinrich, 105.

²⁶⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook of the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:6, CCSL 107:221.

²⁶⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:8, CCSL 107:221.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:13, CCSL 107A:190.

²⁶⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:14, CCSL 107:221. The “body of Christ” here, distinguished from the next interpretation of the cloud as the church, most likely refers to the physical body of Christ. See Theodulf’s comments on Rev 10:1.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:14, CCSL 107A:191.

²⁷¹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:14, CCSL 107A:191.

²⁷² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:14, CCSL 107:221.

²⁷³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:14, CCSL 107:221.

²⁷⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:15, CCSL 107:221.

²⁷⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:18, CCSL 107:221.

²⁷⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:20, CCSL 107:222.

²⁷⁷ Cf. 1 Tim 1:15; Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:20, CCSL 107:222.

²⁷⁸ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:20, CCSL 107A:193.

²⁷⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 14:20, CCSL 107:222.

²⁸⁰ Lat. *evangelizantes narrationes*.

²⁸¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 15:2, CCSL 107:222.

²⁸² Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 15:3, CCSL 107A:194.

²⁸³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 15:5, CCSL 107:222.

²⁸⁴ Lat. *lapide* (“stone”) corresponding to the ancient Greek reading *lithon*. But most Greek manuscripts had *linon* (“linen”) which was rendered variously in the Latin versions as *linum* (Tyconius), *linea* (Primasius), and *lenteamine* (Reference Bible, *Codex Gigas*). Bede (CCSL 121A:443–45) was familiar with a Latin version that read *lapide* and another version that read *linteramen*.

²⁸⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 15:6, CCSL 107:222.

²⁸⁶ Theodulf probably has in view here the vows of religious life.

²⁸⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 15:6, CCSL 107:222.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Rev 4:7. The transformation of Christ into one of the four living creatures refers to when Christ speaks in any of the Gospels, which were thought to be pictured in the four living creatures, the Gospel of John in the lion and the Gospel of Matthew in the man. Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:7–8 (CSEL 49:48–49): *Quattuor animalia quattuor sunt evangelia* “The four living creatures are the four Gospels.” See also Theodulf’s comments on Rev 4:6.

²⁸⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 15:8, CCSL 107:222.

²⁹⁰ Lat. *infidelium* or “unbelievers.”

²⁹¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:1, CCSL 107:222.

²⁹² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:2, CCSL 107:223.

²⁹³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:3, CCSL 107:223.

²⁹⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:4, 8, CCSL 107:223.

²⁹⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:9, CCSL 107:223.

²⁹⁶ Theodulf is dependent on the lost commentary here, which in turn was citing Tyconius (CCSL 107A:198). “Themselves” (*sibi*), which is not in Theodulf, was inserted from Tyconius and the parallel comments in the Reference Bible’s *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John* (CCSL 107:283) and the *Cambridge Gloss* (CCSL 108G:117).

²⁹⁷ Cf. Theodulf’s comment on Rev 9:14.

²⁹⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:12, CCSL 107:223.

²⁹⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:15, CCSL 107:223.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:15, CCSL 107:223.

³⁰¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:19, CCSL 107:223.

³⁰² Cf. Gen 11:9; Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Gen, 1 Pet, Apoc., PL 23:775, 851, 857; CCSL 72:62, 150, 159.

³⁰³ Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 16:20, CCSL 107:223.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 16:19–20, CCSL 107A:202.

³⁰⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 17:1, CCSL 107:223.

³⁰⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 17:3, CCSL 107:223–24.

³⁰⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 17:4, CCSL 107:224.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 17:4, CCSL 107A:204..

³⁰⁹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 17:9, CCSL 107A:205.

³¹⁰ Cf. Luke 2:1–7.

³¹¹ Cf. Acts 11:28.

³¹² Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 17:10, CCSL 107A:206. Interestingly, Theodulf does not list Nero as the sixth king, as the Reference Bible's *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John* and the *Cambridge Gloss* do. Perhaps he recognized that, if Nero were interpreted for the phrase "one is" (17:10), it would imply that Nero was reigning at the time John was writing, and this contradicts the traditional dating of the Apocalypse in the reign of Domitian.

³¹³ Cf. Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 17:11, CCSL 121A:469, trans. Weinrich, 169.

³¹⁴ Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 17:11, CCSL 92:244: "that he might show that he is of the same evil kind."

³¹⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 18:1, CCSL 107:224.

³¹⁶ Lat. *altitudinem*, literally "height."

³¹⁷ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 18:8, CCSL 107A:210.

³¹⁸ Lat. *iudicium* or "judgment," whereas Tyconius on Rev 18:9 (CCSL 107A:211) has *indicium* or "evidence."

³¹⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 18:20, CCSL 107:224.

³²⁰ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 18:21–23, CCSL 107A:213.

³²¹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 18:24, CCSL 107A:213.

³²² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:11, CCSL 107:224.

³²³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:12, CCSL 107:224.

³²⁴ Cf. Eph 6:17; Heb 4:12.

³²⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:15, CCSL 107:224.

³²⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:16, CCSL 107:224.

³²⁷ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev 19:11–12, CCSL 107A:215.

³²⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:17, CCSL 107:224.

³²⁹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev 19:17, CCSL 107A:216.

³³⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:17, CCSL 107:224–25.

³³¹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev 19:19, CCSL 107A:217.

³³² Here *sedet* in the present tense, whereas when the phrase was quoted in the lemma it read *sedebat* in the imperfect tense.

³³³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 19:20, CCSL 107:225.

³³⁴ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 20:1, CCSL 107A:218.

³³⁵ Cf. Jerome, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 20:3, CSEL 49:143; Augustine, *On the City of God*, 20.8, trans. Dods, 722; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 20:3, CCSL 92:275; Reference Bible, *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 20:4, CCSL 107:289; *Cambridge Gloss on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 20:4, CCSL 108G:128.

³³⁶ Cf. Rev 19:4.

³³⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 20:4, CCSL 107:225. Cf. 1 Cor 15:53.

³³⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 20:5, CCSL 107:225. Cf. Augustine, *On the City of God*, 20.9, trans. Dods, 726–27.

³³⁹ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 20:3, CCSL 107A:219.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Apoc., PL 23:858; CCSL 72:160.

³⁴¹ Cf. 1 Cor 7:31.

³⁴² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 20:12, CCSL 107:225.

³⁴³ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:10, CCSL 107A:223.

³⁴⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:10, CCSL 107:226. *Ecclesia* in pseudo-Jerome; *ecclesiae* in Theodulph.

³⁴⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:11, CCSL 107:226. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:11, CCSL 107A:223; 1 Pet 2:6.

³⁴⁶ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:12, CCSL 107:226.

³⁴⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:13, CCSL 107:226.

³⁴⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:15, CCSL 107:226.

³⁴⁹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:16, CCSL 107:226.

³⁵⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:16, CCSL 107:226. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel*, 2.7, 2.

³⁵¹ Cf. Theodulf's comment on Rev 14:1.

³⁵² Cf. Eph 4:7.

³⁵³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:18, CCSL 107:226.

³⁵⁴ Cf. Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, where charity is shown in chalcedony, humility in sardonyx, and labor in beryl and chrysophrase. Bede's reflections on the moral virtues of each stone derive largely from Isidore's *Etymologies*, 16.7–9.

³⁵⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:21, CCSL 107:226–27.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Matt 13:46.

³⁵⁷ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:21, CCSL 107A:225.

³⁵⁸ Gryson's edition indicates that in the manuscript, about eight letters were missing in the line, but the phrase *sicut fit hic* "as is here" was supplied by him from *Cambridge Gloss on the Apocalypse*.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:22–23, CCSL 107A:225.

³⁶⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 21:21, CCSL 107:227.

³⁶¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:1, CCSL 107:227.

³⁶² Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev 22:1, CCSL 107A:226.

³⁶³ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:2, CCSL 107:227–28.

³⁶⁴ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*. On Rev 22:3, CCSL 107A:226.

³⁶⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:10, CCSL 107:228.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 22:10–14, CCSL 107A:227.

³⁶⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:11, CCSL 107:228.

³⁶⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:14, CCSL 107:228.

³⁶⁹ Cf. Caesarius of Arles, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, Homily 19, trans. Weinrich, 108: "we recognize the apostles and the prophets in the twelve gates

and twelve angels”; Eucherius of Lyons, *Formulas*, 10, CSEL 31:60: “XII. ad apostolos”

³⁷⁰ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:14, CCSL 107:228. Cf. Heb 12:23.

³⁷¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:15, CCSL 107:228. For dogs as symbolic of Jews, see Eucherius of Lyons, *Formulas*, 4, CSEL 31:29.

³⁷² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:16, CCSL 107:228.

³⁷³ Lat. *genus* which in the passage of Scripture I have translated “offspring.”

³⁷⁴ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:16, CCSL 107:228. Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 22:16, CCSL 92:309.

³⁷⁵ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:17, CCSL 107:228–29.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel*, 2.2, 87–93, CCSL 142:227.

³⁷⁷ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 22:17, CCSL 107A:228.

³⁷⁸ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 22:18, CCSL 107:229.

³⁷⁹ Gryson’s edition indicates that in the manuscript after “that is” and before “for judgment” seven or eight letters are missing.

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Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel

Homilies on the Apocalypse (812)

Homily on the Feast of Michael the Archangel¹

The Epistle² of the Apocalypse of John, Chapter One

1 *God signified the things which must happen quickly, and signified speaking through an angel to his servant John, 2 who gave testimony to the word of God. 3 Blessed is the one who reads and hears the words of this prophecy and keeps the things which have been written in them. For the time is near. 4 John to the seven churches which are in Asia. Grace to you and peace from him who is, and who was, and who is to come, and from the seven spirits which are before his throne, 5 and from Jesus Christ who is the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and ruler of the kings of the earth. He loved us and washed us from our sins in his blood, 6 and made us a kingdom and priests for God and his Father. Glory and power be to him forever and ever. Amen.*

1–2 In those days *God signified the things which must happen quickly.* This is what “signified” [means]: “He constructed that same Apocalypse in mystical sayings lest, manifested to everyone, they be regarded as meaningless.”³ *Speaking through his angel.* God the Father [speaking] through his Son, because Christ is the *angel of great counsel* (Isa 9:6). Or, “an angel was shown to John in the figure of Christ, as will appear more clearly in the [visions] following.”⁴ *The things which must happen quickly.* Everything that happens in time has a beginning, middle,⁵ and end. Moreover, after the beginning of the church, which already had been founded on the preaching of the apostles, it was necessary that the manner in which [that preaching] was to be more widely propagated would be revealed, and also how it would be held together in the end, so that we⁶ preachers of this truth, supported by the trustworthiness of this knowledge, might press forward without hesitation: the few [pressing forward before] many, the unequipped [pressing forward] before armed men, the humble [pressing forward] before the proud, the weak [pressing forward] before the noble,

and those who are alive [pressing forward] before the spiritually dead. Moreover, when he says 'signified,' he also shows something future and mysterious. He did not want us, whom he made eager to more deeply scrutinize the mysteries by putting the words in signs, to remain content with the superficiality of the letter. Correctly and soundly he added that these things had been shown to the disciple by Christ 'through his angel,' so that it may be clear that Christ has always appeared to mortals, both before the incarnation and after the ascension, through an assumed creature" (who is God and the one Son), "not through the essence of divinity. Because of this, he who had known him as teacher, testified to the invisible Word⁷ in an assumed man. And so that no one might think it was the Word alone that is to be understood, he again added the name Jesus Christ, which he knew⁸ pertains to the form⁹ of the assumed man. When he says: *to his servant John*, in one [man] he wanted to show [that he was speaking] to the whole church which he founded in unity. He says *to make plain to his servants* for this reason, [because he was speaking] not just to one out of many, but rather through one to all, just as Peter alone received the keys of the kingdom of heaven,¹⁰ nevertheless the whole church¹¹ merited to use that sublime authority."¹²

3 "*Blessed is the one who reads and the one who hears the words of this prophecy.* By saying 'the one who reads and those who hear'¹³ he shows the person of the teachers and of the students, so that he both might remove idleness with respect to interest in reading and promise blessedness to those keeping [the words]. *And keeps the things which have been written in them.* Since it is fitting for both [the one who reads and the one who hears] to keep them, it applies to both. *For hearers of the law are not just before God, but doers of the law will be justified* (Rom 2:13). *For the time is near*, that is, for each of the things, which are to be said, to be fulfilled."¹⁴

4 "*John to the seven churches which are in Asia*, that is, to the one septiform church. Unity is often indicated by the number seven, because it is the sum of an odd number and an even number, that is, three and four, just as all universality is comprised of that which is diverse. And also the diversity of the soul and body contains the unity of this number, but three pertains to the soul and four to the body. And also it is said that God should be loved *from the whole heart, from the whole soul, and from the whole mind* (Deut 6:5). Moreover, we have four known qualities of the body: heat and cold, and dryness and humidity. For this reason it is also sung: *I have spoken your praise seven times a day* (Ps 119:164). *Grace to you and peace from him who is, and who was, and who is to come.* Although according to the

Apostle, *God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself* (2 Cor 5:19); or, as he himself testifies: *The One who sent me is with me* (John 8:29), [these statements are written] because of the unity of the one and same substance [shared by the persons of the Trinity]. Nevertheless, this passage should appropriately be referred to the person of the Son. For he 'is' because he remains the same; he 'was,' who¹⁵ created everything with the Father; and 'is to come' for judgment. *And from the seven spirits which are before his throne*. Because of the sevenfold work of the Holy Spirit he is called the septiform Spirit, that is, [the Spirit] *of wisdom and of understanding, of counsel and of fortitude, of knowledge and of piety, and of fear of the Lord* (Isa 11:2). For when peace and grace are desired from the seven spirits by the devoted, the gifts are always lawfully expressed as of the one Spirit."¹⁶

5 "*And from Jesus, who is the faithful witness*. In his assumed manhood he bore witness to the Father, as when preaching he says: *I have made known your name to them, and I shall make it known* (John 17:26), which [name], he shows, he formerly denied to the Jews saying: *I have not shown them your*¹⁷ *name Adonai* (Ex 6:3). In fact, believe¹⁸ in the Son, and the knowledge of the Father is no less revealed. For the Son would not be mentioned unless he had the Father, and equally the Father [would not be mentioned] unless he had a Son. Therefore one is known by the proclamation of the other, because the Father is truly proved [to exist] in [the mention of] the Son and the Son in [the mention of] the Father."¹⁹ Or, "witness" "because through his death he bore witness of the new covenant."²⁰ For, a covenant is not ratified until after the death of the person. *Firstborn of the dead*, because he first rose from the dead and because he testified of the resurrection of the dead, demonstrating it first in himself."²¹ *And ruler of the kings of the earth*, that is [ruler] "of the apostles and of all the saints."²² *Who loved us and washed us from sins in his blood*. "He also, having suffered, loosed us from sin by his blood, who upon rising is rightly proclaimed to be the *firstborn from the dead* (Col 1:18)."²³

Homily on the Eighth Sunday after Pentecost

A Reading of the *Book of the Apocalypse* of Blessed John the Apostle, Chapter Four

1 *I saw an open door in heaven, and the first voice which I heard was as of a trumpet speaking with me, saying: Come up here, and I shall show you what must take place quickly. After these things* **2** *immediately I was in the spirit. And behold, a throne had been set up in heaven, and upon the throne one sitting.* **3** *And the one who was sitting was similar in appearance to a jasper stone and to sardonyx. And there was a rainbow around the throne similar in appearance to an emerald.* **4** *And around the throne twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four elders sitting round about, clothed in white robes, and on their heads golden crowns.* **5** *And from the throne proceeded flashes of lightning and voices and peals of thunder. And there were seven lampstands burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.* **6** *And before the throne was, as it were, a glassy sea similar to crystal. And in the midst of the throne and around the throne were four living creatures full of eyes in front and behind.* **7** *And the first living creature was similar to a lion, and the second living creature similar to a calf. And the third living creature has a face like a man, and the fourth living creature was similar to an eagle flying.* **8** *And each of the four living creatures had six wings, and around and within they are full of eyes. And they had no rest day and night saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, who was, who is, and who is to come.* **9** *And while those four living creatures were giving glory and honor and blessing to the one sitting upon the throne, to the one who lives forever and ever,* **10** *the twenty-four elders were falling down before the one sitting on the throne and were worshipping the one who lives forever and ever.*

1 *I saw an open door in heaven*, that is, “faith in the church in the nativity, passion, and resurrection of Christ in the church. The open door indicates Christ who was born and died.”²⁴ For he himself said: *I am the door. If anyone enters through me, he will be saved* (John 10:9); and in another place: “*No one comes to the Father except through*” me (John 14:6). Moreover, when he says “in heaven” he signifies “in the church, which deserved to be [called] heaven since it is the dwelling place of God.”²⁵ *And the first voice which I heard was as of a trumpet speaking with me.* “For just as the sound of a trumpet is, so is the voice of preachers when it invites to the faith those listening.” Moreover, when he said “first voice” it is under-

stood [as the first voice] “in that vision.” *Saying: Come up here, and I shall show you what must take place quickly.* When he says “Come up here” he is indicating “not [movement] from place to place,” but “come up,” that is, “understand and believe.” For, “the church invites unbelievers to Christ and to baptism.”²⁶ For “everyone who believes that Christ was born and died, ascends to the height of the church and through spiritual insight²⁷ sees future things.”²⁸

Accordingly also there follows: *After these things 2 “I was in the spirit,* that is, I did not sense my body, as my spirit alone was outside my body in a spiritual vision.” *And behold, a throne had been set up in heaven,* that is, “the church perfected in faith.”²⁹ *And upon the throne one sitting,* that is, upon the church Christ was sitting. Accordingly also Isaiah says: *I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up* (Isa 6:1), that is, upon the church “high” in faith and “lifted up” happily in hope of eternal life.

3 And the one who was sitting was similar in appearance to jasper stone and sardonyx, etc. “‘Jasper’ has a color like the sea, ‘sardonyx’ like blood. Through jasper is understood baptism, through sardonyx martyrdom. These comparisons apply to the church, with which Christ is clothed. In the sky is a *rainbow*,” which signifies the New Testament. For it has “three colors: of water, of sulfur, and of fire. Through the water baptism is understood, through the sulfur penitence, and through the fire martyrdom.” For also “water came in the flood; sulfur” descended “upon Sodom; and fire” will come “in the” time of “judgment.” In another way of interpreting *rainbow around the throne*, it signifies “the gospel around the church.” For, “*emerald* has” the color of both “water and fire, signifying baptism and martyrdom.”³⁰

4 And around the throne twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four elders sitting. “Twenty signifies the Decalogue doubled, and four signifies the four Gospels.”³¹ Or, the “twenty-four elders” signify the “twelve patriarchs and twelve apostles.”³² *Clothed in white robes,* that is, “in the practice of chastity.”³³ Accordingly also Solomon says: *Let your clothes be white all the time* (Eccl 9:8), that is, let your flesh be cleansed from every stain of pollution, and adorned with the modesty of chastity. *And on their heads golden crowns,* that is, outstanding gifts of the mind, [gifts] of wisdom or of the victory of immortality.³⁴

5 And from the throne proceeds³⁵ flashes of lightning, “that is, from the church [proceeds]” many and great “miracles.”³⁶ *And voices and peals of thunder,* that is, voices of preachers with promises and threats.³⁷ *And seven lampstands burning before the throne.* The throne of God is “the church.”³⁸

He explained what the lampstands are, saying: *Which are the seven spirits of God*, that is, the “seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.”³⁹

6 *And before the throne was, as it were, a glassy sea similar to crystal.* The glassy sea signified baptism, which because of its purity it is said to be similar to crystal.⁴⁰ *And in the midst of the throne and around the throne were four living creatures full of eyes in front and behind.* The “four living creatures” signify “the Gospels,” which are “full of eyes” “in front because they preach of the future judgment,” and full [of eyes] “behind, because they give testimony about the Old Testament.”⁴¹ Or, “in front” because they carefully reflect on those things which should be done; “behind” because they vigilantly remember those things which should be lamented over.⁴²

7 *And the first living creature was similar to a lion*, etc. Moreover, according to anagogy, “Christ was a lion in the resurrection, a calf in the passion, a man in the flesh, and an eagle in the ascension.” But according to a moral sense, “the lion,” which is considered⁴³ the strongest “of the beasts, signifies those stronger in faith; the calf signifies the merciful in the church; the man signifies the humble” as in: *I was humbled exceedingly; revive me, Lord* (Ps 119:107); and “the eagle signifies the heavenly-minded who say with Paul”: *But “our association is in the heavens* (Phil 3:20).⁴⁴

8 Those living creatures have *six wings*, [creatures] which do not cease to announce through the six ages of the world the law of the Old and New Testament,⁴⁵ which although there is one law of the New and Old Testament, it seems to be divided in six [ways], “that is, the law of nature, the law of the letter, the law of the prophets, the law of the Gospels, the law of the apostles, and ecclesiastical law.” *And around and within they are full of eyes.* “They have eyes inside and out,” which “illuminate the church inside and out with testimonies” of the divine Scriptures. “*And they have no rest day and night*, that is, in prosperity and in adversity;” for day is frequently and customarily understood for prosperity and night for adversity. *Saying: Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts*,⁴⁶ etc. “Here Trinity and unity are understood, because they proclaim the three persons and one God,”⁴⁷ and show the mystery of the Trinity and unity. *Who was, who is, and who is to come.* “Who was”, as in that passage: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and God was the Word* (John 1:1). “Who is”, as in the passage: *Say to the children of Israel: The One who is has sent me to you* (Ex 3:14). “Who is to come” is understood as [he is coming] *to judge the living and the dead* (1 Pet 4:5).

9 *And while those living creatures were giving glory and honor and blessing to the one sitting upon the throne, 10 the twenty-four elders fall⁴⁸ down before the one sitting on the throne and were worshipping the one who lives forever and ever. And they cast their crowns before the throne saying: 11 You are worthy, Lord our God, to receive the kingdom.* They fall before the throne and worship; and all the elect cast their crowns before God, because “whatever worthiness they have, they attribute not to themselves but to him. And they refer the glory of praise to him, from whom they acknowledge that they have received strength for the contest.”⁴⁹

Again the Exposition of Bede on This Reading

1 *I saw an open door in heaven.* “About to ascend, he appropriately sees a heavenly door. For, to him [i.e. John] heavenly mysteries are promised to be revealed. Or, because the door is Christ,⁵⁰ one who believes that he was born and suffered, ascends to heaven, that is, to the height of the church, and having been made spiritual,⁵¹ sees future things,⁵² as he says.”⁵³

2 *And immediately I was in the spirit, and the first voice which I heard was as of a trumpet speaking,* etc. “Surely this is similar to the voice which he had heard earlier: *What you see, write in a book* (Rev 1:11).” *And behold, a throne had been set up in heaven, and upon the throne one sitting.* “The Lord indwells the church set up in a heavenly way of life.⁵⁴ Pope Gregory⁵⁵ interprets the throne of God in the vision of Micah to be angelic powers through whose minds the One presiding on high governs all things below.”⁵⁶

3 *And the one who was sitting was similar in appearance to a jasper stone and sardonyx.* “The color of jasper signifies water; the color of sardonyx fire, by which two [elements], we know, judgment is carried out. For he said: *Just as in the days of Noah, so also the coming of the Son of Man will be* (Matt 24:37).” *And there was a rainbow around the throne, similar in appearance to an emerald.* “A rainbow appears when the sun shines through the clouds, and it first appeared as an indication of propitiation.⁵⁷ It signifies that the church is fortified by the intercession of the saints whom the Lord illumines. This is rightly compared to emerald, a very green stone. For the more perfect the faith with which they await the inheritance which is not able to fade,⁵⁸ the more powerfully they protect others by prayer.”⁵⁹

Because here we have said a few things about these three stones,⁶⁰ let us also talk a little more about these, together with other precious stones,

about which Isaiah says: “Behold, I shall set your stones in order, and I shall lay your foundation in sapphires, etc. (Isa 54:11), and then immediately, as if explaining, he adds: *All your children were taught by the Lord* (Isa 54:13).”⁶¹

[Rev 21:19:] *The first “foundation jasper.* There are many kinds of jasper stones. For, some are of green color and appear as if dipped in flowers. Another has similarity to an emerald, but is of a dense color. By it, they say, all phantasms flee. Another [has similarity to] snow and the foam of big waves, but is reddish as if mixed with blood. Therefore, through jasper is indicated the unwavering vigor of faith, which is colored with the sacrament of the Lord’s passion through the water of baptism, and which by advancing in merits builds into a flourishing of all kinds of spiritual graces. For, one who has this [faith] chases away vain fears, as the apostle Peter warns: *Your adversary the devil prowls around as a roaring lion seeing whom he may devour. Resist him firm in the faith* (1 Pet 5:8–9).”⁶²

“*The second sapphire.* Moses explained both the color and mystery of this stone when, describing the dwelling place of God, he said: *Under his feet was, as it were, a work of sapphire stone, and like the sky when it is serene* (Ex 24:10). Ezekiel also says that the place in which the throne of God is has similarity with a sapphire,⁶³ and that the glory of the Lord consists of this color. It prefigures one who bears the image of the highest heaven, and is able to say with the Apostle: *Our association is in the heavens* (Phil 3:20).”⁶⁴

“*The third chalcedony,* which retains the appearance of, as it were, the pale fire of a lamp and has brightness in the open air, but not in the house. By it are shown those who, supported by heavenly desire, are hidden to people as they practice their fasting, almsgiving, and prayers in secret.⁶⁵ But when they are forced to go public in teaching or other performances of holy service, they soon shine and burn as bright lights, that is, they burn in love,⁶⁶ and shine in speech.”⁶⁷

“*The fourth is emerald,* which is so green that it [surpasses] green herbs and green gems, and even tints the air that shines around it with a green color. There are many kinds [of emeralds], but the more noble are the Scythian ones. The Bactrian ones hold the second place, and the Egyptian ones third place. Moreover, it signifies souls that are always flourishing in faith by both hoping to grasp in their mind the unfading inheritance which has been reserved eternal in the heavens,⁶⁸ and by preaching among their neighbors, [with whom] they ought to share [the gospel].”⁶⁹

[Rev 21:20:] “*The fifth sardonyx*. This [stone], drawing from the luster of onyx and the redness of sardion, receives the name ‘sardonyx’ from both. Moreover, there are many varieties of this [stone]. For, one has similarity with red earth.⁷⁰ Another has the appearance of two colors, as though it were blood shining through a human fingernail. Another consists of three colors: the bottom being black, the top red, and the middle white. To it are compared people who are red in the passion of the body, white in the purity of their spirit, but in humility are contemptible to themselves.”⁷¹

“*The sixth sardion*, which is the color of pure blood, signifies the glory of the martyrs, about whom it is said: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints* (Ps 116:15). It is correctly positioned in the sixth place, since our Lord both was incarnated in the sixth age of the world, and was crucified for the salvation of the whole world on the sixth day⁷² of the week.”⁷³

“*The seventh is chrysolite*, which shines like gold and has fiery sparks. By its appearance are represented those who, shining with understanding of heavenly and true wisdom, pour forth words of exhortation onto their neighbors, or even miraculous signs as if sparks of fire, as Arator⁷⁴ says: “Love inhabits their minds; ardor warms their speech.”⁷⁵ Because this is only done by the gift of spiritual grace, chrysolite is very appropriately in the seventh foundation. For the grace of the Holy Spirit is often customarily signified by the number seven.”⁷⁶

“*The eighth beryl*. Beryl is [a stone which], like water that reflects the brightness of the sun, gives off a beautiful red color. But it will not shine unless it is shaped by being polished into a six-sided form. For its brightness is accentuated by the reflection of the angles. Moreover, it signifies people who are very wise by nature but shine even more brightly with the light of heavenly grace. And it is said that those holding it are burned in the hand. Without doubt it is clear that whoever is joined to a holy man is very much recreated by the fire of his good behavior.”⁷⁷

“*The ninth topaz*. The topaz stone is rarely found, and very valuable in price. It has two colors, one of the purest gold and the other glittering with an ethereal brightness. It is considered to be marvelous by kings, so that they regard nothing among their riches as similar to possessing it. The very beautiful quality of its nature is very worthily compared to the beauty of the contemplative life. In fact, holy kings, whose heart is in the hand of God,⁷⁸ rightly prefer this [life] to all the riches of good works and to all the gems of virtue. The more ardently they embrace with their soul the

sweetness of heavenly life, the more frequently they will be stricken with the splendor of supernal grace. Therefore, holy men have a golden color from their flames of charity, and also have an ethereal brightness from their contemplation of heavenly sweetness. Moreover, because ‘it is said to be found on the island of Thebaid,’ which is called ‘Topazion, it accordingly receives its name.’⁷⁹ This is to be understood in two ways: [first], that these regions, that is, especially those [regions] of the Egyptians, abound with flocks of monks; and [secondly], that whoever dwells near the sun of righteousness⁸⁰ is very much colored by the brightness of ethereal light. And the perfection of the active life is beautifully put in the eighth place, and in the ninth place is put the gem of speculative sweetness, because of the nine orders of angels mentioned in holy Scripture, whose life is imitated.⁸¹

“*The tenth chrysophrase.* Chrysophrase is a mixture of green and gold, even bringing forth a certain purple gleam intermingled with golden spots. Moreover, it comes from India.⁸² It signifies those who, because of the brightness of perfect charity, deserve the greenness of the eternal homeland,⁸³ even displaying it to others by the purple light of their martyrdom. When they prefer eternal glory,⁸⁴ in that they despise their own life,⁸⁵ they follow the example of the Lord who appeared in the flesh, and they display the brightness of their merits as if they are now in India, that is, near the rising of the sun.”⁸⁶

“*The eleventh hyacinth.* Hyacinth, having a blue color, is found in Ethiopia. The best [kind], which is neither transparent nor dulled by density but glows in a mixture of both, when cleaned, gives off a pleasant gleam. Moreover, it does not gleam the same way all the time, but is changed by the appearance of the sky. For when the sky is fair, it is transparent and attractive. When it is cloudy, it grows dim and fades before the eyes.⁸⁷ For it is indicative of souls consecrated to heavenly contemplation, which to a certain degree approximate the angelic lifestyle, inasmuch as mortals are able. To them a lifestyle with every protection of discretion is commanded, so that they do not dare to inquire into things deeper than is fitting for them and to scrutinize things above their ability, growing callous through overmuch subtlety in understanding.⁸⁸ For it is the glory of the Lord to conceal a matter (Prov 25:2) [from which it follows that they should] philosophize with caution about God or about Christ the man. [This lifestyle is also commanded] so that they, through idle sloth, do not go back again to the weak beginnings of the faith⁸⁹ and rudimentary matters of the word of God,⁹⁰ but rather that they, traveling the royal road, will advance, being protected on the right and on the left through the weapons

of righteousness.⁹¹ Like a hyacinth encompassed by a cloud, [such a person] says: *For I have determined to know nothing except Christ Jesus and him crucified* (1 Cor 2:2). And as a hyacinth seen in bright light [such a person] says: *We speak wisdom among the mature* (1 Cor 2:6).⁹²

“*The twelfth amethyst*. Amethyst is purple, a mixture of the color violet and the luster of a rose, and gently gives off certain sparks. But also its purple is not fiery throughout, but appears like red wine.⁹³ Therefore the purple beauty designates the character of the heavenly kingdom. The rose and violet truly designate the humility of the saints and truly their eager and precious⁹⁴ death.”⁹⁵

“Therefore in jasper is signified the greenness of faith; in sapphire the height of heavenly hope; and in chalcedony the flame of interior charity. Moreover, in emerald is signified the bold profession of the faith amidst adversities; and in sardonyx the humility of the saints amidst their virtues. In sardion is expressed the bloodshed of the martyrs, worthy of reverence. In chrysolite is expressed the spiritual sound of preaching with signs; and in beryl the perfect work of those preaching. In topaz is shown the fervent contemplation of the same. Moreover, in chrysophrase is shown both the work and the reward of the blessed martyrs. In hyacinth is shown teachers’ heavenly exaltation to things on high, and for the sake of the weak their humble descent to things human. In amethyst is designated the perpetual contemplation of the heavenly kingdom in the soul of the humble.”⁹⁶

“And each of the precious stones is assigned to each of the foundations. Although all the perfect, upon which *the city of our God* is adorned and founded on *his holy mountain* (Ps 48:1), shine with the light of spiritual grace, nevertheless *to one through the Spirit is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, to another the gift of healing, to another various kinds of tongues, to another faith through the same Spirit*, etc. (1 Cor 12:8–10).⁹⁷

4 *And around the throne twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four elders sitting*. “For he had seen on the one throne the church, by virtue of the society of faith, and perceives on the twenty-four thrones the same church generated through the twin testament of the patriarchs and apostles.⁹⁸ Moreover, he had seen her ‘sitting’ because of her judicial dignity in Christ. Moreover, ‘all the members will sit and will judge,⁹⁹ but in one and through one head. For how will the saints be able to sit in judgment when they are standing at the right hand of the Judge?’¹⁰⁰ The twenty-four elders are also able to be interpreted as those who, by the clear preaching of the gospel, complete the perfection of the work which cor-

responds with the number six; for four sixes make twenty-four.¹⁰¹ *Clothed in white robes, and on their heads golden crowns*, that is, clothed in good works, seeking heavenly joy with the recollection of a steadfast mind. For the mind is often customarily understood by the term ‘head.’¹⁰²

5 “*And from the throne proceeds flashes of lightning and voices and peals of thunder*, that is, what Mark says: *Moreover those having gone forth preached everywhere, with the Lord helping, and confirming the word with signs following* (Mark 16:20).”¹⁰³ “*And there are before the throne seven lampstands, which are the seven spirits of God*. He calls the one Spirit sevenfold. For *there is one Spirit* (Eph 4:4), but his sevenfold character reflects his perfection and fullness. And after the Holy Spirit is mentioned, the water of baptism appropriately follows,¹⁰⁴ through which the same Spirit is believed to be received.”¹⁰⁵

6 “*And before the throne was, as it were, a glassy sea similar to crystal*. Because of the true faith, baptism is referred to as glass, in which nothing is seen on the outside that is not present on the inside.¹⁰⁶ Also, the grace of baptism is signified in crystal which is formed from water [turned] into ice and precious stone. *And in the midst of the throne and around the throne four living creatures, full of eyes in front and behind*. ‘Around the throne’ of God, that is, the light of the gospel fills the fathers¹⁰⁷ of the church with knowledge of things past and things future.”¹⁰⁸

7 “*And the first living creature was similar to a lion*, etc. These living creatures are interpreted in various ways. Moreover, blessed Augustine,¹⁰⁹ according to the order in this book, says that the lion is to be understood as Matthew, who relates the genealogy of the royal dignity in Christ, who also *conquers as the lion from the tribe of Judah* (Rev 5:5). For *Judah is the cub of a lion* (Gen 49:9), and in this [Gospel] he is feared as a king by a king.¹¹⁰ He is adored by the Magi,¹¹¹ and in this [Gospel] the king also settles accounts with his servants.¹¹² The king holds a marriage feast for his son,¹¹³ and at the Last [Judgment] the king separates the sheep from the goats.¹¹⁴ [He says that] Luke [is to be understood] in the *calf*, which was a great offering. For in his law¹¹⁵ not only in the beginning are sacrifices around the temple discussed,¹¹⁶ but also it ends like this: *And they were always in the temple praising and blessing God* (Luke 24:53). Truly *the face of a man* signifies Mark which, having said nothing about the royalty or priestly authority of the Lord, simply narrates only the deeds of the Christ as a man. Moreover, the *eagle* is John, who saw the nativity of the Word with the clarity of the rising of the sun. Moreover, sometimes [these living creatures] signify the evangelists, sometimes the whole church, whose for-

titude is shown in the lion, sacrificial life in the calf, humility in the man, and sublimity in the flying eagle.¹¹⁷

8 “*Each of them had six wings.* [The wings] lift up the church to high places through the perfection of her teaching. For the number six is said to be perfect for this reason, because it is the first number with the sum of its factors: indeed one, which is one sixth of six; and two, which is one third of six; and three, which is half of six, [when added] made the same six. In another way of interpreting it, the ‘six wings’ of the four living creatures, ‘which are twenty-four, suggest the’ total ‘number of books of the Old Testament,’¹¹⁸ on which both the author of the Gospels rest and the truth is proven. *And around and within they are full of eyes.* The holy church watches herself vigilantly both before God and before people, whose interior eyes the Psalmist had seen when he said: *All the glory of that child of the king is from within* (Ps 45:12), and [whose] exterior [eyes he had seen] when continuing, he added: *With golden fringes, clothed about with variety* (Ps 45:14). In another way of interpreting it, whether you attend to the literal meaning or seek the allegory, you always find light in the Gospel. Another translation has this: *full of eyes in front and behind*, because the light of the Gospel both illumines the puzzling passages of the law and pours on the world the brightness of new grace. *And they do not have rest day or night saying: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God almighty*, etc. The holy living creatures affirm throughout every age the one dominion of the deity and the omnipotence and eternity of the holy Trinity with the perpetual praise of the rational creation abiding in heaven.”¹¹⁹

10 “*The twenty-four elders fell down before the one sitting on the throne and will worship*¹²⁰ *the one who lives forever and ever.* ‘When the living creatures sound forth praise, that is, when the Gospels preach the dispensation of Christ, the whole church, which consists in leaders and people’ (for this is signified by the number twelve doubled), ‘immediately falling on her face, worships the one who lives forever and ever.’¹²¹ *And they cast their crowns before the throne of God*, that is, ‘assign whatever virtues and whatever worthiness they had,’¹²² indeed to the One who had created all things from nothing.”¹²³

Homily on the Feast of the [Holy] Innocents¹²⁴

A Reading from the *Book of the Apocalypse*
of the Apostle John, Chapter 14

1 *I saw a Lamb standing upon Mount Zion, and with him a hundred and forty-four thousand, having his name and the name of his Father written on their foreheads. 2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the sound of many waters and as the sound of loud thunder. And the voice which I heard was as harpists playing on their harps. 3 And they were singing, as it were, a new song before the throne of God and before the four living creatures and elders. And no one was able to sing the song except those hundred and forty-four thousand who have been redeemed from the earth. 4 These are they who have not defiled themselves with women; for they are virgins. These follow the Lamb wherever he goes. These have been redeemed from humans as first-fruits for God and the Lamb. 5 And in their mouth is found no lie. They are without spot before the throne of God.*

1 *I saw a Lamb standing upon Mount Zion.* The Lamb is Christ, about whom John said: *Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world* (John 1:29). Mount Zion, which is interpreted “observation,”¹²⁵ is understood in this passage as the church, upon which the Lord Jesus Christ is reported to be standing, furnishing for her the help and fortification of his power and protection. “Note that the beast above is reported to be standing *on the sand of the sea* (Rev 13:1), but the Lamb on Mount Zion.”¹²⁶ *And with him a hundred and forty-four thousand.* “This is the number of the people of God.”¹²⁷ “Here a finite number is put for the infinite, and [this number] has been sanctified with the secret significance of mystery. For the number three tripled is nine; and four times four make sixteen. Moreover, nine times sixteen make a hundred and forty-four, from which number of those reckoned as virgins fullness is indicated mystically, so that since the multitude of them is said to be so copious, it should not be doubted that [he is speaking] about the other members of the church.”¹²⁸ *Having his name and the name of his Father,* etc. For about *the beast coming up from the earth* (Rev 12:11), he had said above that he caused *all the small and great, rich and poor, slaves and free* to have a *mark on their right hand and on their foreheads* (Rev 13:16). But here, on the contrary, about the servants of God, “so that the weak soul does not think that everyone succumbed and perished in the vehement attack of persecution,”¹²⁹ he now adds: “having his name and the name of his Father written

on their foreheads." When he says "name" it is understood as [the name] "of the Lamb,"¹³⁰ and "the name of his Father" is understood as [the name] of God the Father.

2 *And I heard a voice from heaven*, that is, "the church,"¹³¹ which is very often called "heaven" in the divine Scriptures. For concerning the church it is written: *Heaven is my throne* (Isa 66:1; Acts 7:49). And about the preachers of that same church it is written: *The heavens declare the glory of God* (Ps 19:1). "The loud 'voice' of the saints is their great devotion of charity, which he says that he heard 'from heaven.'" When he said previously that they who heard the "voice" are standing on Mount Zion, [he said this] so that he may show that he was saying that Mount Zion is nothing other than the church. This [church], having stood up with the joy of heavenly contemplation in order to overcome the heaviness of the oppressions, celebrates the contests of her king with praise and also with imitation [of him]. For this is truly to sing to the *Lamb standing* (Rev 14:1)¹³² *As the sound of many waters and as the sound of loud thunder*. What is understood through the "sound of many waters" except the sound "of preachers"?¹³³ What is designated through the "sound of loud thunder" except the sound "of the gospel"?¹³⁴ Accordingly also certain apostles were called "*sons of thunder*" (Mark 3:17). For, peals of thunders are the Gospels, where with a threat they say: *Every tree which does not bear good fruit is cut down and is cast into fire* (Matt 7:19). *And the sound which I heard was as harpists playing on their harps*. What is designated through the sound of harpists except the united sound of all preachers and their one harmony, which sounds forth the song of charity with pure hearts.¹³⁵ "The harpists are all the saints of God who, crucifying *their flesh with its vices and desires* (Gal 5:24), *praise him with psalter and harp* (Ps 150:3). How much more do they, who with the privilege of angelic chastity wholly and uniquely make themselves an offering to the Lord, denying themselves and taking up their cross,¹³⁶ *follow the Lamb wherever he goes?*"¹³⁷

3 *And they were singing, as it were, a new song*. What is designated through the "new song" except the New Testament and "the confession of the faithful,"¹³⁸ that is, "I believe in God the Father almighty, and in our Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, and in the Holy Spirit." For [the faithful one] who sings this new song is one who, *having put aside the old man* (Eph 4:22), is happily renewed through the grace of baptism. This song is one which consoles the purest minds and which delights inwardly. A new man ought to sing this new song, not an old man, who has not yet put aside the sins of Adam. The song is truly new because the world has

never before heard such a song. It is new because it soils nothing old, but always perseveres in the grace of its own dignity. *Before the throne*. The throne is the perfect “church, which deserved to be [called] ‘heaven’ since it is the dwelling place of God.”¹³⁹ The thrones belong to the Savior and Lord, which he already possesses in his own majesty, as is read: *The soul of the righteous is the throne of wisdom* (Wis 7:27). *And before the four living creatures*. For the four living creatures designate the four Gospels, which in another passage are described as being *full of eyes in front and behind* (Rev 4:6). “‘In front’ because they preach about the future judgment; ‘behind’ because they give testimony about the Old Testament.”¹⁴⁰ Moreover, this follows: *And elders*. He signifies those about whom he had spoken above: *And around the throne twenty-four thrones, and upon the thrones twenty-four elders sitting, clothed in white robes* (Rev 4:4). They signify either “the Decalogue doubled and the four Gospels,”¹⁴¹ or “the twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs,”¹⁴² that is, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and David.¹⁴³ *And no one was able to sing the song except the hundred and forty-five¹⁴⁴ thousand who have been redeemed from the earth*. “To sing the song to the Lamb uniquely is to rejoice with him forever before all the faithful, especially concerning the incorruption of the flesh.”¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless the rest of the elect are able hear this song, although they are not able to sing it, who through charity are happy about the high status of those [virgins], even though they [i.e. the rest of the elect] do not rise to the rewards of [virgins].”¹⁴⁶

4 “*For they are virgins, these who follow the Lamb wherever he goes*. Blessed Augustine explained these things beautifully by admonishing virgins: ‘Press on,’ he says, ‘saints of God, boys and girls, men and women, celibates and unmarried people. Press on by persevering to the end. Praise the Lord more sweetly, whom you know more richly. Hope more gladly in him whom you serve more readily. Love more ardently him whom you please more attentively. With your loins girded and your lamps burning, wait on the Lord when he comes from the marriage.’¹⁴⁷ You bring to the marriage of the Lamb a *new song* (Rev 4:3), which you will sing on your harps, indeed [a song] which no one will be able to sing except you.”¹⁴⁸ For thus in the Apocalypse a certain one, who was accustomed to learning upon his chest,¹⁴⁹ saw you as beloved to the Lamb above the others. He saw you as twelve times twelve thousand holy harpists of undefiled virginity¹⁵⁰ in body and of inviolate truth in the soul. Follow the Lamb because the flesh of the Lamb is also indeed a virgin. Follow him with virginity of heart and body, *wherever he goes* (Rev 4:4). For what is to follow,

except to imitate, since *Christ suffered for us, leaving an example for us that we should follow in his steps* (1 Pet 2:21).¹⁵¹ “*These are they who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins.* Indeed he says ‘virgins’ ‘with respect to integrity’¹⁵² of faith. Thus the Apostle speaks about the universal church, saying: *I have espoused you to one husband, to present you as a chaste virgin to Christ* (2 Cor 11:2). For, “Tyconius also interprets this vision not only about virgins specifically, but about the whole church generally.”¹⁵³ *These have been redeemed from humans as first-fruits for God and the Lamb*, redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, as the Apostle says: *For you have been redeemed with a great price; glorify and carry the Lord in your body* (1 Cor 6:20). These first-fruits “of that holy and spotless flock of the church, as more holy and more pure offerings, are chosen by the Holy Spirit for the merits of their will.”¹⁵⁴

5 *And in their mouth is found no lie.* “He did not say, ‘In their mouth was found no lie,’ as the Apostle says: *And indeed you were these things, but you have been washed* (1 Cor 6:11). And: *The iniquity of the unrighteous will not harm him on the day in which he turns from his iniquity* (Ezek 33:12), and he will be able to be a virgin, and deceit will not be found in his mouth. For he calls ‘virgins’ those who are chaste and modest.”¹⁵⁵ *They are without spot before the throne of God. Without spot*, that is, without sin. For, the righteous are without spot when their forbearance obtains its reward, as the prophet said: *You will wash me and I shall become whiter than snow* (Ps 51:7). Therefore, blessed are those without spot, who are worthy to enter into eternal life.

NOTES

¹ PL 102:476–77. The feast day of Saint Michael and of all of the angels is celebrated on September 29th.

² Even though the Apocalypse is technically not an epistle, here it is referred to as a reading from the “epistle” (*epistola*) because Smaragdus’s work is a collection of homiletic material from patristic writers upon both the epistle and Gospel readings for the various feasts in the liturgical year. The Gospel reading for this feast (Matt 18:1–10) and the homiletic material on that passage follow in PL 102:477–80.

³ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:1, CCSL 121A:235.

⁴ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:1, CCSL 121A:235.

⁵ Lat. *cursum*, that is, the course of the event.

⁶ Smaragdus (PL 102:476) has *aggederemur* in the first person plural, whereas Primasius, whom Smaragdus is quoting, has *adgrederentur* in the third person plural.

⁷ Cf. John 1:1.

⁸ Lat. *non nescit* literally “not unaware”.

⁹ Cf. Phil 2:7.

¹⁰ Cf. Matt 16:19.

¹¹ Cf. Matt 18:18; 28:18.

¹² Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:1–2, CCSL 92:7–8.

¹³ Primasius’s version of Scripture had *audiunt* or “those who hear,” not *audit* “one who hears” as Smaragdus had quoted the verse above.

¹⁴ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:3, CCSL 92:8–9.

¹⁵ Smaragdus (PL 102:476) has *qui* or “who”, whereas Primasius has *quia* or “because.”

¹⁶ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:4, CCSL 92:9–10.

¹⁷ Smaragdus (PL 102:476) has *tuum* “your”, whereas Primasius has *meum* “my.”

¹⁸ Smaragdus (PL 102:476) has *credite* in the imperative, whereas Primasius renders it in an ablative absolute phrase: *credito enim filio*.

¹⁹ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:5, CCSL 92:10–11.

²⁰ Cf. Heb 9:16–17.

²¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:5, CCSL 107:197–98.

²² Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 1:5, CCSL 107:198.

²³ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 1:5, CCSL 92:11.

²⁴ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:204; Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107A:129.

²⁵ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 92:46.

²⁶ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:204.

²⁷ Smaragdus has *affectu spirituali* which I have translated “through spiritual insight.” Theodulf has *affectus spirituales*. Gryson, who edited Tyconius, believes the best reading of Tyconius’s comment, on which Theodulf is dependent here, is found in Bede: *effectus spiritualis*, that is, “having become spiritual.”

²⁸ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107A:129.

²⁹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:2, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:2, CCSL 107:204.

³⁰ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 107:204–05; Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 107A:130.

³¹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:205.

³² Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:312–13. Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4. CSEL 49:50–51.

³³ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:313.

³⁴ On the interpretation of the crowns as either wisdom or immortality, see Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:313.

³⁵ Lat. *procedunt* in the present tense, whereas when the Scripture was cited at the beginning of the homily, it read *procedebant* in the imperfect tense.

³⁶ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107:313. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107:205.

³⁷ Cf. Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107:313; Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107:205.

³⁸ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107:313. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107A:131.

³⁹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 107:313.

⁴⁰ Cf. Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:313.

⁴¹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:313; Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:206.

⁴² Cf. Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:313; Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:206.

⁴³ Lat. *scribitur*, literally “is written”.

⁴⁴ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:7, CCSL 107:313.

⁴⁵ Cf. Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:8,

CCSL 107:313; Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 107:206, both of which read: “They have six wings because they preach the gospel through the six ages of the world, or because they announce the six laws of the Old and New Testament.”

⁴⁶ In the citation of the Scripture at the beginning of the homily it reads correctly as “almighty” (*omnipotens*); but here it reads “of hosts” (*Sabaoth*), which was probably a conflation of Rev 4:8 with Isa 6:3.

⁴⁷ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 107:313. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 107:206.

⁴⁸ When the text of Scripture was cited at the beginning of the homily it read “fell” (*procidabant*) in the imperfect tense. Here it reads “fall” (*procidunt*) in the present tense.

⁴⁹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:10–11, CCSL 107:314. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:10, CCSL 107A:133.

⁵⁰ Cf. John 10:7, 9.

⁵¹ The homily of Smaragdus has *speciali* (PL 102:334), but it has been corrected to “spiritual” from Bede, which reads *spiritualis*.

⁵² This is a reference to what is said later in Rev 4:1: *Come up here, and I will show you what must take place after these things*.

⁵³ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 121A:277.

⁵⁴ Cf. Phil 3:20.

⁵⁵ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral Teaching on Job*, 2.20, CCSL 143:83.

⁵⁶ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:2, CCSL 121A:277.

⁵⁷ Cf. Gen 9:12–17.

⁵⁸ Cf. 1 Pet 1:4.

⁵⁹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:3, CCSL 121A:277, 279.

⁶⁰ That is, jasper, sardonyx, and emerald.

⁶¹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:19, CCSL 121A:533.

⁶² Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:19, CCSL 121A:533. Cf. Jerome, *On Isaiah*, 15.7; Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.7.8.

⁶³ Cf. Ezek 1:26; Jerome, *On Isaiah*, 15.7.

⁶⁴ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:19, CCSL 121A:533–35.

⁶⁵ Cf. Matt 6:1–6.

⁶⁶ Cf. 1 Pet 1:22.

⁶⁷ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:19, CCSL 121A:535–37.

⁶⁸ Cf. 1 Pet 1:4.

⁶⁹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:19, CCSL 121A:537–39. Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.7.1–2.

⁷⁰ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral Teaching on Job*, 18.75.

⁷¹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:541. Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.8.3–4.

- ⁷² That is, on a Friday.
- ⁷³ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:543.
- ⁷⁴ The homily of Smaragdus (PL 102:335) reads *orator*, but I have corrected it to Arator from Bede.
- ⁷⁵ Arator, *On the Acts of the Apostles*, 1.147, PL 68:108.
- ⁷⁶ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:543–45.
- ⁷⁷ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:545–47. Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.7.5.
- ⁷⁸ Cf. Prov 21:1.
- ⁷⁹ Cassiodorus, *Exposition of the Psalms*, on Ps 118.127.
- ⁸⁰ Cf. Mal 4:2.
- ⁸¹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:547–51.
- ⁸² Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.7.7
- ⁸³ Cf. Heb 11:14–16.
- ⁸⁴ Cf. 2 Cor 4:17.
- ⁸⁵ Cf. Matt 10:39.
- ⁸⁶ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:551.
- ⁸⁷ Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.9.3.
- ⁸⁸ Cf. Ecclesiasticus 3:22.
- ⁸⁹ Cf. Gal 4:9.
- ⁹⁰ Cf. Heb 5:12.
- ⁹¹ Cf. Num 20:17; 2 Cor 6:7.
- ⁹² Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:553–55.
- ⁹³ Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16.9.1.
- ⁹⁴ Cf. Ps 116:15.
- ⁹⁵ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:555.
- ⁹⁶ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:557.
- ⁹⁷ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:20, CCSL 121A:557.
- ⁹⁸ Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4. CSEL 49:51; Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 92:48.
- ⁹⁹ Cf. Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30.
- ¹⁰⁰ Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107A:131. Cf. Matt 25:33.
- ¹⁰¹ Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 92:48.
- ¹⁰² Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 121A:279.
- ¹⁰³ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 121A:279–81. Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 92:48–49.
- ¹⁰⁴ In the mention of a glassy sea in the next verse, Rev 4:6.
- ¹⁰⁵ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:5, CCSL 121A:281.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 92:49; Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 21:16–18, CCSL 107A:224.

¹⁰⁷ Smaragdus has *patres* (fathers), but Bede has *partes* (parts).

¹⁰⁸ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 121A:281. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107A:132.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, 36.5, 2. FC 88:86–87.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Matt 2:3.

¹¹¹ Cf. Matt 2:11.

¹¹² Cf. Matt 18:23.

¹¹³ Cf. Matt 22:2.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Matt 25:31.

¹¹⁵ Luke's Gospel.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Luke 1:8–23.

¹¹⁷ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:7, CCSL 121A:281–83. Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:7, CCSL 92:53–54; Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:7, CCSL 107A:132.

¹¹⁸ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 92:56.

¹¹⁹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:8, CCSL 121A:283–85.

¹²⁰ Here the verb *adorabunt* is in the future tense, whereas when the verse of Scripture was cited at the beginning of the homily it was *adorabant* in the imperfect tense.

¹²¹ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:9–10, CCSL 92:57.

¹²² Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:9–10, CCSL 92:57. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:9–10, CCSL 107A:133.

¹²³ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:10, CCSL 121A:285.

¹²⁴ The Feast of the Holy Innocents, commemorating the massacre of children by Herod (cf. Matt 2:16–18), is celebrated in the West on December 28th.

¹²⁵ Lat. *speculatio*. Jerome, *On Hebrew Names*, Isaiah & Romans, PL 23:874, 898: *specula*. Cf. Ambrose Autpert, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:1, CCCM 27A:523: *specula*. Haimo of Auxerre wrote an *Exposition of the Apocalypse* in the mid-ninth century, decades after Smaragdus's homily was written. Like Smaragdus's homily, on Rev 14:1 (PL 117:1104), Haimo has *speculatio*, possibly suggesting a common source.

¹²⁶ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:1, CCSL 121A:419.

¹²⁷ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 14:1, CCSL 107:327.

¹²⁸ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:1, CCSL 92:209.

¹²⁹ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:1, CCSL 92:209.

¹³⁰ Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:1, CCSL 92:209.

¹³¹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 14:2, CCSL 107:327.

¹³² Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:2, CCSL 121A:421.

¹³³ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 14:2, CCSL 107:327.

¹³⁴ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 14:2, CCSL 107:327.

¹³⁵ Cf. Matt 5:8.

¹³⁶ Cf. Matt 16:24.

¹³⁷ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:2, CCSL 121A:421.

¹³⁸ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 14:3, CCSL 107:327.

¹³⁹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Primasius of Hadrumetum, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:1, CCSL 92:46.

¹⁴⁰ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:313. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:6, CCSL 107:206.

¹⁴¹ Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:312. Cf. Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:205.

¹⁴² Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:312–13. Cf. Victorinus-Jerome, *Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, on Rev 4:4, CSEL 49:50–51.

¹⁴³ Cf. Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:313; Pseudo-Jerome, *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John*, on Rev 4:4, CCSL 107:205.

¹⁴⁴ Lat. *quinque*. It should be *quattuor* or “four”.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moral Teaching on Job*, 3.28.

¹⁴⁶ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:3, CCSL 121A:423.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Luke 12:35–36.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Rev 4:2–3.

¹⁴⁹ Meaning John. Cf. John 13:23–25.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Rev 4:2–4.

¹⁵¹ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:4, CCSL 121A:423–25; Augustine, *On Holy Virginity*, 27, FC 27:173.

¹⁵² Theodulf of Orleans, *Exposition of the Apocalypse of John*, on Rev 14:4, CCSL 107:327.

¹⁵³ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:5, CCSL 121A:425. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:1, CCSL 107A:188.

¹⁵⁴ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:4, CCSL 121A:425.

¹⁵⁵ Bede, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:5, CCSL 121A:425. Cf. Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, on Rev 14:5, CCSL 107A:188.

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Appendices

Preface to the Apocalypse (8th century)

BLESSED JOHN THE APOSTLE, after the passion and ascension of our Lord and Savior, by his own establishment founded the church in one of the cities of Asia which is called Ephesus, over which he presided up to the day of his death. Indeed there was a grandiose end to the course of his present life, as ecclesiastical history relates regarding both his death and burial. Therefore, he urgently preached to Jews and Gentles throughout all of Asia with the faith of Christ. First he wrote his Gospel. For that same faith which he preached, he was exiled onto the island of Patmos¹ by Domitian, the son of Vespasian and the one who had succeeded his brother Titus in office, in the fifteenth year of his [Domitian's] reign. He wrote this Apocalypse so that just as through Moses, who stands out beyond all people as meek,² the beginning of the book of Genesis treats [humankind's] origin from its incorruptible beginning, so also through John, the disciple more beloved beyond the rest,³ the incorruptible end would be returned to at the close of the New Testament. He who spoke both in Moses and in John said this: *I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end* (Rev 22:13). Indeed *God is love* (1 John 4:8), he who is both the beginning without beginning and the end without end. Accordingly also *love is the end of the law* (Rom 10:4). And for that reason in almost every book of divine Scripture nothing else is found other than the love of God and neighbor. Therefore just as love is the fulfillment of the law,⁴ so also this Apocalypse is the fulfillment of both the Old and New Testament. And so he wrote, according to the mystical mystery of the sevenfold Spirit,⁵ to seven churches, whose leaders in the entire church throughout the world [he addresses] under the dignified title "angels."⁶ He either praises them for their virtues or rebukes them for their sins. He recounts the mysteries of the kingdom and great and arcane things about the present time, about the end of the world, and about the coming of his heavenly Jerusalem.⁷ Moreover he saw all these things on the Lord's day,⁸ having been caught up in the Spirit, so that just as in the mystery of the gospel the resurrection of Christ, bringing life to us, consecrated both the first and eighth day, so also after the perfect number seven of the old law, the Apocalypse of John, inspired with the mystery of the number eight,⁹ was the completion of the New Testament. Now those reading this [Apocalypse], which warns or, as it were, informs, [see]

that for the ungodly it pronounces the punishment of the second death, [that is], eternal torments¹⁰; but for the righteous it promises the glory of the first resurrection,¹¹ and for their merits diverse dwelling places¹² in its spiritual city¹³ with the beatitude of eternal mansions.¹⁴

NOTES

¹ Cf. Rev 1:9.

² Cf. Num 12:3.

³ Cf. John 13:25; 21:20.

⁴ Cf. Rom 13:8; Gal 5:14

⁵ Cf. Isa 11:2.

⁶ Cf. Rev 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14.

⁷ Cf. Rev 3:12; 21:2, 10.

⁸ Cf. Rev 1:10.

⁹ Eucherius of Lyons (d. 450) in his *Formulae* discussed the mystical significance of biblical numbers. Eight, he wrote, is put “for the Lord’s resurrection,” CSEL 31:60.

¹⁰ Cf. Rev 20:14; 21:8.

¹¹ Cf. Rev 20:5.

¹² By asserting “diverse” dwelling places, the author was communicating the orthodox position against some in the fourth century, such as Helvedius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius, who in their efforts to equalize the status of all believers in reaction to an exaltation of the status of celibates, were accused of denying that there is a diversity of glory in heaven based on merits earned on earth.

¹³ Cf. Rev 21:10.

¹⁴ Cf. John 14:2.

Chapter Headings of the *Book of the Apocalypse* of the Apostle John (9th century)

1. (1:1–20) Concerning the seven churches and the coming of the Savior
2. (2:1–7) Concerning the fear of how long it will be until the former things are engaged in once again
3. (2:8–11) Concerning the instruction of the church of the Smyrneans
4. (2:12–16) Concerning the second death and the instruction of the Pergamumians
5. (2:17–29) Concerning manna and the instruction of the Thyatirans
6. (3:1–6) Concerning the instruction of the Sardisians

7. (3:7–13) Concerning the instruction of the Philadelphians
8. (3:14–22) Concerning the instruction of the Laodiceans
9. (4:1–11) Concerning the twenty-four elders and the seven spirits and the four living creatures
10. (5:1–5) Concerning the book sealed with seven seals and the victory of the Lion
11. (5:6–10) Concerning worship of the Lamb, who worthily receives the book that he might open it
12. (5:11–14) Concerning the multitude of the praising angels and the opening [of the first seal]
13. (6:3–8) Concerning the opening of three seals
14. (6:9–11) Concerning the martyrs pleading their case
15. (6:12–17) Concerning the wrath of the Lamb
16. (7:1–8) Concerning the judgment, suspended because of the number of those sealed
17. (7:9–12) Concerning the innumerable multitude of those praising God
18. (7:13–17) Concerning the innumerable multitude which, it is read, have overcome the world
19. (8:1–6) Concerning the effect of the opening of the seventh seal
20. (8:7–11) Concerning the effect of the sounding of three trumpets
21. (8:12–9:12) Concerning the effect of the sounding of two trumpets
22. (9:13–21) Concerning the effect of the sixth angel sounding his trumpet
23. (10:1–7) Concerning the words of the seven peals of thunder which should not be written down but should be sealed
24. (10:8–11) Concerning the book which he was ordered by the angel to eat in order to interpret the prophets
25. (11:1–11) Concerning the measurement of Jerusalem and the war of the two prophets with the beast
26. (11:12–19) Concerning the calling of the two witnesses to heaven
27. (12:1–6) Concerning the war of the woman and the dragon
28. (12:7–12) Concerning the expulsion of the dragon from heaven
29. (12:13–17) Concerning the mother of the male child, whom¹ the dragon followed after the beating that he deserved
30. (13:1–10) Concerning the seven-headed serpent and the dragon

31. (13:11–18) Concerning the mark of the beast without which this life is unable to be governed
32. (14:1–5) Concerning the song which no one except the sealed were able to sing
33. (14:6–12) Concerning the eternal gospel and the punishments upon this world
34. (14:13–20) Concerning the blessedness of those who die in the Lord
35. (15:1–8) Concerning the many kind of plagues of the seven angels and the song of Moses
36. (16:1–11) Concerning the effect of the plagues of five angels
37. (16:12–21) Concerning the effect of the plagues of two angels
38. (17:1–6) Concerning the appearance of the great harlot and her punishment
39. (17:7–18) Concerning the woman and the beast which carries her
40. (18:1–20) Concerning the ruin and lament of Babylon
41. (18:21–24) Concerning the swiftness of the destruction of Babylon
42. (19:1–10) Concerning the judgment of the harlot and the marriage supper of the Lamb
43. (19:11–21) Concerning the just judgment and destruction of the inhabitants of the harlot
44. (20:1–10) Concerning the binding of the ancient dragon and the day of judgment
45. (20:11–15) Concerning divine and suitable remuneration²
46. (21:9–27) Concerning the Lamb and New Jerusalem
47. (22:1–9) Concerning the remembrance of Paradise
48. (22:10–21) Concerning the final end of the good and of the evil

NOTES

¹ Lat. *quam* in the feminine, referring to the woman the dragon pursued. The male child was caught up to heaven, cf. Rev 12:5.

² Lat. *De remuneratione divina ac competenti*. “*Competenti*” which is translated “suitable,” speaks of the adequacy and competency of the divine judgment.

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